

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Eccelesiastical Affairs.

MR. GLADSTONE ON IRISH CHURCH REFORM.

MR. GLADSTONE has given one of his election speeches—that delivered at Newton—to a critical examination of the Irish Church Commissioners' report. At first sight this might seem a work of supererogation. The report was still-born. It has never exhibited a single sign of life since it was ushered into the light of day. It can hardly be said to have cried. It has awakened no fond emotions. It has elicited no expressions of endearment. Those who eagerly watched for its appearance maintained a grim silence when they had once looked upon it. Nevertheless, there it was—a lifeless body, it was true, but requiring to be decently disposed of. Mr. Gladstone has dissected it and buried it. It will never be heard of more, save, perchance, as an illustration of the utter weakness of a system which could give birth to such an offspring. With this poor breathless form the last hopes of ecclesiastical Conservatism must be extinguished. It had set its mind upon this report as destined to constitute the young heir of the Irish Church Establishment, and lo! it wants the one essential qualification for entering on its inheritance—life. It did but look upon the day, and it has been gathered to its fathers.

Mr. Gladstone's criticism, merciless as it is, assumes quite a jocose tone. This is unusual with the right hon. gentleman. He has, no doubt, a reason for substituting for his habitually serious style one of banter. A popular audience demands a somewhat livelier strain from a candidate for electoral honours than would befit a statesman in the House of Commons. But it is also clear that Mr. Gladstone regards the Commissioners' report as in itself an elaborate joke, and deals with it accordingly. They were set to attempt an impossibility, and it is not their fault, he admits, that the result of their effort has been ridiculous, but the fault of those who imposed the task upon them. It is the business, however, of statesmen to propound to the country a feasible policy, and this report, being the only plan yet put forward for retaining an Established Church in Ireland, while remedying its abuses, must be treated as an authoritative exposition of the only policy alternative to his own which the Government is able to make.

The gist of the plan recommended by the Commissioners is the suppression of four episcopal sees out of twelve, and of all benefices in

which the Protestant residents do not amount to forty; the diminution and equalisation of bishops' incomes, with an exception in favour of those prelates who attend in turn the House of Lords; and the appropriation, at the discretion of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, of the funds thus saved to the augmentation of benefices where the Protestant population is considerable, and where the revenue is small. Mr. Gladstone asks how it has come to pass that the Commission omitted to compute, which they might have done, or even to estimate, the aggregate sum which may be expected to accrue from the various economies they have proposed. He calculates it at 80,000*l.* a year in all—between 22,000*l.* and 25,000*l.* from episcopal sources; from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* from extinguished benefices; about 10,000*l.* by chapters; and perhaps 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* by "consolidating parish clerks and gravediggers." He suspects that they were afraid to put on paper the whole amount which would be so gained, and which they desired to distribute among the incumbents of the Irish Church, which, "of all Churches upon earth, has at this moment the most pay and the least work." In England, he says, the whole revenues of the Established Church, if divided equally amongst the whole body of clergy, would give about 200*l.* a year each for the work of tending 600 souls, the Church population being reckoned at twelve millions. The same process in Ireland would give 300*l.* a year each for the clerical supervision of 350 persons. The remuneration of the Irish clergy relatively to their work is already three times as much as that of the English clergy; and the right hon. gentleman conjectures that the Commissioners had good reason to conceal the fact that they wished to distribute 80,000*l.* a year amongst clergymen who already stand in a position so favourable as compared with their English brethren.

Mr. Gladstone finds in the report an aggravation of the grievance inflicted by the Irish Church upon the Catholic population. It is some consolation to the Irish peasant, he says, in Mayo or Galway, for instance, where there may be 5,000 or 10,000 Catholics and a mere handful of Protestants, that the tithe taken off the land he has cultivated, is spent in the neighbourhood, by a resident gentleman, bound to good conduct and usually given to benevolence and kindness. Now, however, it is proposed to cure abuses by suppressing some 200 out of between 1,400 and 1,500 benefices in Ireland, because they have less than forty resident Protestants, and carrying off the ecclesiastical revenue to the suburbs of great cities where wealthy members of the Establishment abound. "While it retains," he observes, "all the odium of being applied to the Church of the minority, it will lose the graces, recommendations, and consolations which hang about it from the kindly relations between these Protestant clergymen and the Roman Catholic population." The funds are local funds—set apart for maintaining religion within the limits of the parish—"and to take the tithe out of a parish of Galway or Clare for the purpose of meeting the wants of Protestant populations in Dublin and Belfast, is dangerously like to an act of public plunder." Mr. Gladstone might have added that this proposal of the Commissioners carries with it the very principle so violently

repudiated by the Government, but in its worst possible form. So far as the suppressed benefices are concerned, it is both disestablishment and disendowment—but it sanctions both, not with a view to national advantage, but merely to give additional help to Protestants who do not need it.

The right hon. gentleman repudiates all idea of *reforming* the Irish Church. He would object to its being allowed to remain established though there were but one bishop and but one benefice. But the bishops and clergy of that Church, he intimates, protest against being "cut and carved" in the way proposed by the Commission. Many of them are rapidly coming to the conclusion that the best thing for them is freedom—a clear stage and no favour. "Strong in their conscientious convictions, they are ready," says Mr. Gladstone, "at all events a great deal more ready than they were, and are growing riper every day—to accept the inevitable issue, trusting to the Almighty, and in their cause, to meet all the chances of the future." We believe it, or we should put little faith in the genuineness of their religion. This is one of the greatest blessings which will come out of the new policy. It will conduce to a wonderful disenchantment. Clergy and laity will open their eyes to the truth that they have been trusting to a strength which is only seeming and illusory, and, in so far, have mistrusted a strength which cannot fail them. They will find out the secret of spiritual power before long, and they will rejoice in the discovery. Then will come the day of their prosperity. Then the Church they so much love, having "loosed herself from the bands of her neck," will "arise and shake herself from the dust, and put on her beautiful garments," and break forth in the song of triumph, "Thy God reigneth!" Oh, for the day of deliverance—for her joy and victory will also be ours!

THE ALTERNATIVE.

We judge of things by comparison; not according to what they are in themselves, but what they are when put by the side of other things. As nothing is perfect in this world, we are compelled for purposes of gratitude, or resignation, to remember how much better existing facts and conditions are than others, or than their absence would be. "It might be worse," is a reflection that hushes many a bitter plaint, and represses many a rebellious feeling. "Half a loaf is better than no bread," gives a relish to many a scanty meal. One difference between a wise man and a fool is that the latter is always rejecting what is possible, because it is not better, and the former accepts it because it is no worse. The sign of a statesman is that he has an eye to detect and a power to use expedients within his reach; to choose the available, albeit the faulty and the feeble; while others lose their time and temper in the pursuit of an impossible perfection. It is easy to make objections to any conceivable measures. True wisdom is shown not in the finding faults, but excellencies; in asking, not whether any particular scheme is beyond the reach of criticism, but whether it is better than nothing, or better than any other.

We apply these remarks to Mr. Gladstone's measures respecting the Irish Church. Perhaps no measures have been exposed to more merciless criticism and unscrupulous assault. They have united the animosities of men, on all other subjects wide as the poles asunder, and "their unanimity is wonderful." They have been subjected to legal subtlety and

theological hate. Some oppose them for their defects, and some for their excellencies; some because they go too far, and some because they go not far enough. Political parsons have forgotten their mission, and "preached" the Irish Church "to every creature," while one unpolitical Dissenter has left the pulpit for the platform to give vent to his Conservative zeal. Catholic and Protestant have been found to "lie down together" on this theme; and High Churchman has not "envied" Low Churchman, nor Low Churchman "vexed" High Churchman. Tories have given expression to most Radical and revolutionary sentiments in their righteous indignation, and Radicals have out-Heroded Herod in Conservative talk. The disestablishment of the Irish Church, we have been told, is like the Trojan horse, and woe the day when it is admitted to the legislation of our country.

We might say that this opposition is itself suspicious. When so much is said, and in so many quarters, there is a feeling that it is not all real. No measure, especially none originated by a great statesman, and supported by a great party, is likely to justify such variety and bitterness of attack. It would not be a policy but a plot; not a measure but a madness. But we leave this, and ask, *what else?* You denounce Mr. Gladstone's proposals, where are your own? You are not in a condition to merely criticise, you must *act*. The easy task of picking holes in other men's plans cannot be allowed you; the hard task of providing and carrying out other and better plans devolves on you. It is a case in which something must be done, and something on a large scale. No man in his senses supposes that things can go on long as they are now. Men of all parties agree that the state of Ireland calls for prompt and skilful legislative treatment. It is the shame of Englishmen, the reproach of foreigners. Mr. Gladstone's scheme is not to be considered on its own independent merits, but in connection with the no-policy of the present Government. It is to be weighed against nothing; and, if it were far lighter than it is, the scale must kick the beam.

But this is not all. The present Government has no policy; but what matters that? It is not one of the questions on which a Government can continue to be without a policy; but one of those on which, if statesmen abdicate their functions, circumstances come in and take their place. All that can be done by delay is to increase the difficulty and diminish the efficacy of remedial measures. And the alternative, in this instance, is plain enough. There is nothing but disendowment of all, or endowment of all. So far as churches are involved in the matter, equality is the cure; and equality can only be secured either by levelling up or levelling down; by taking from some, or by giving to others. If the Irish Church is not disestablished, Popery will have to be endowed. And there can be no question that this is the goal towards which our present Ministry are marching forward, or at least the presiding genius of it. It is not yet a policy; the pear is not ripe; the "education" is not finished. But feelers have been put forth, hints thrown out, alternatives suggested, just enough to give a cue, though not too much to be withdrawn and denied. The Conservative leaders have been like the Scotchman who, caught trespassing, and asked where he was going, coolly said,—"Book again."

ECCLIASTICAL NOTES.

We doubt if there has been any political or ecclesiastical question in the discussion of which so many clergymen have taken the side of liberty and justice as has been the case in the Irish Church discussion. Six months ago nearly three hundred of them signed a petition to Parliament in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and since then scarcely a week has passed in which some clergyman has not spoken or written to the same effect. We have a theory by which this may be accounted for. Why have the clergy been so silent on all the great questions of the day, or, when they have spoken, have spoken on the unpopular side? and why are so many of them now taking a different attitude? We believe the main reason to be that, considering the unparalleled importance of the measures which are now before the country, they have sat down to think about them as they have not thought upon other questions. They do not differ from other men in a general love of justice and a preference for what is true and good. With regard to one set of questions, however, it has been more difficult for them than for other men to see what is just. They have therefore gone in the way that their intellects have been trained to go—not from bad feelings, not from jealous or ungenerous disposition, but from mere false training.

They can, however, get out of this training when they apply their whole minds and hearts to the consideration of a question. This is what has been done by scores of men during the last six months. Clerical books and speeches on the side of disestablishment, in fact, are so multiplying, that they will soon outnumber those written by Nonconformists. Of all the popular addresses, not even excepting Dr. Temple's, the one most suited for broad distribution, is an address to the parishioners of St. Werburgh's, Derby, by the vicar of the parish, the Rev. W. F. Wilkinson. Its deep religious tone is its first recommendation, and next, the brevity combined with the breadth of the whole argument. In three folio pages Mr. Wilkinson has said more than many have been able to say in ten times the space. The last words will indicate the spirit in which it has been written,—

I feel bound to advocate the disestablishment of the Irish Church as a British citizen, a Churchman, a Protestant, and a Christian. For it promises to put an end for ever to a state of things which has been too long an anomaly in our constitution, an encumbrance to the Church of England, an embarrassment and hindrance to the spread of the Gospel in Ireland, and a scandal and reproach to Protestantism all over the world.

Mr. Wilkinson alludes, in his address, to the "strong language" with which those who think as he does have been characterised. There has certainly been more abuse, more railing, and more slander, indulged in by Irish Church defenders, than we can remember in connection with any other controversy. Most of us have had our share of it, but the last person to suffer has received, within a fortnight, perhaps more than, in the same period, has fallen to the lot of any other person. The Rev. Dr. Morton Brown, of Cheltenham, having delivered a lecture on State-Churches, with especial reference to the Irish Church, had the simple and natural misfortune to have a set of figures reported by a local journal to belong to the year 1853 instead of the year 1833. A good many persons, we hope, would at once have suspected the origin of this mistake, but instead of inquiring or assuming that a reporter or a compositor had made a blunder, the Rector of Cheltenham begins to abuse Dr. Brown. Soon, letter-writers—a dean heading the pack—repeat the abuse from one end of the kingdom to the other. Dr. Brown has replied by a second lecture, and by letter, to various journals, but no replies will stop the currency of this kind of controversy. Yesterday the *Herald*, after the explanation had been made, devoted a column and a half to it, and no doubt the thing will last until the whole controversy is over. Those who have the opportunity may expose this kind of thing by possessing themselves of Dr. Brown's second lecture, which, we understand, will be published this week.

The Pope's Encyclical does not gain upon the Protestant communities. The Prussian Evangelical Churches, we see, are indignant at the tone of the document, and will treat it with some sort of open contempt. But what will the English episcopacy do? The question may be talked over at Lambeth, but we do not suppose that a Conference will be called to consider it, or that it will be discussed in Convocation. A very High Church organ—the *John Bull*, thus deals with it:—

What steps may be taken by the rulers of our Church to protest against the violation of Christian charity and of ecclesiastical precedent, we leave them to determine. Other portions of the Church we feel sure will protest against the arrogant title of Ecumenical which the Council of Bishops, representing but one fragment of Western Christendom, appropriates to itself. We trust that something of the same kind, worthy of our Church and nation, either in concert with the Orthodox Church, or at least concurrently with it, may issue from the Patriarchal See of Canterbury. That, however, we leave to the consideration of the ecclesiastical authorities, simply reminding them that the world is usually content to estimate men and things at their own price, and that the claim to an Ecumenical character which this Council makes, will, unless protested against, be acquiesced in by those who are able to hear the claim, but are not competent to weigh the grounds of this claim, or are too idle to test its validity.

We doubt, however undecided some men may be, whether an English Bishop will be present at the Council, not even the Bishop of Oxford.

Spain is moving towards religious equality with the rapidity of a mind that has never before known what mental and religious freedom are. We are indebted to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of last Friday, for information concerning one element in the religious opinion of the people which has not, until now, been suspected to exist. M. Garrido, the author of a comprehensive "History of Political and Religious Persecution," has just issued an address in favour of the complete separation of the Church from the State, in the manner advocated by the Liberation party in England. Our contemporary gives the following summary of his address:—

He tells the people that, although they have overthrown the tyranny of Isabella, they have yet to deal with a more formidable one, to which hers was merely instrumental—the tyranny of the Roman hierarchy. It was under the control of the clergy and Jesuits that she

became an enemy to their liberties, that she plundered the nation to fill Rome with a Spanish silver currency, and that she had stifled the voice of the liberal professors in the schools and universities. He affirms that she was, of all the national sovereigns, the most abjectly submissive to this theocratic system, which had rewarded her with indulgences for her vices. He exhorts the nation not to leave to this power its vast organisation of monasteries and religious corporations, headed by a Papal Nuncio maintained at their expense; not to be deceived by the pretended friendship of the Papacy, which will flatter the revolution in order to divide its forces; but at once to proceed to abrogate the Concordat, as even the Austrians, and to burn the document in the market-place. They must abolish the pretended religious corporations, which are, in fact, political associations adverse to the liberty of the nation. They must separate the Church from the State, and proclaim the absolute freedom of all forms of worship. This freedom will be a token of the regeneration of a people which religious intolerance and Catholic unity have heretofore reduced to dulness from cleverness, indolence from industry, littleness from greatness, poverty from wealth, the most backward and contemptible condition from the most advanced and formidable. This freedom will be their first security for every other franchise, and ultimately for wealth, numbers, industry, commerce, and education. Spain owes this freedom not only to her present residents, but to many thousand descendants of Spaniards, banished from their country or expelled by the terrors of the Inquisition, who, after the lapse of a hundred years, still sigh for the shores of the mother country, and still maintain the use of her language in books and in conversation. It is disgraceful that many Spanish families should be forced to have their children educated in foreign countries because in Spain they cannot have them educated in conformity with their own principles. M. Garrido doubts not that the very proclamation of this freedom will draw capital to Spain that has long been kept out of her by her character for intolerant fanaticism, that it will cause an immediate rise in all descriptions of Spanish stock, and facilitate the reduction of the principal of the National Debt. He exhorts Catholics to support this freedom, in order to remove from their eyes the revolting spectacle of that hypocrisy which is nourished in the Church by the opposite system of control; he exhorts those indifferent to religion to maintain this freedom as the necessary basis of every other kind, as he shows by the example of the Swiss and American Republics. He exhorts the members of the non-Catholic congregations to avail themselves of this freedom as it is now established *de facto*, and to have no doubt that it must and will be fully ratified and established by the approaching deliberations of the Constituent Cortes. He ends by saying—"It is only freedom of worship which can reconcile Spain completely and definitively with the civilisation of modern times."

Italy, Austria, Spain—ecclesiastical tyranny will soon have no place on the whole continent of Europe.

THE IRISH CHURCH AGITATION.

DONCASTER.—The largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in Doncaster assembled in the Guildhall of this town on Thursday evening, for the purpose of hearing a lecture by the Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A., on the all-absorbing question of the day, viz.: the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church as by law established. The chair was occupied by Mr. J. W. Childers, and the lecturer, in a very able manner, abstaining from all personalities, treated the subject in all its bearings, and at the close of his address, Lord Milton, one of the Liberal candidates for the southern division of the West Riding, proposed a resolution pledging the meeting to support Mr. Gladstone's policy, which was most enthusiastically carried, two hands only being held up in opposition. The proceedings, which had been of the most orderly description, the lecturer not being once interrupted except by the applause of his audience, were then brought to a close by the most ringing and hearty cheers for Messrs. Gladstone and Bright, and also for the Liberal candidates for the division, Lord Milton and Mr. Beaumont.

CHELTEHAM.—This borough has been greatly excited during the last fortnight. The Rev. Dr. Morton Brown recently delivered a lecture on the question "Are State Churches Scriptural Churches?" with special reference to the Irish Church. The lecture was of an elaborate character, and contained many facts respecting the Irish Church, some especially relating to the past condition of the Church. Amongst these were the incomes of the deans and chapters in 1833. Two days after the delivery of this lecture, Dr. Brown was assailed at a Church defence meeting by the Rev. Dr. Walker, rector of Cheltenham, and the Rev. G. W. Chamberlain, a clergyman of the town, who accused him of gross misrepresentation respecting the Church. On Tuesday last, Dr. Brown replied to these attacks in another lecture. The meeting is described as one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in the town, and those who could not get in might be numbered almost by thousands. Mr. Fallon presided. Dr. Brown was received with round after round of cheering, the audience standing and waving hats and handkerchiefs. The lecturer replied in detail to the attacks that had been made upon him, producing on the platform the official authorities for all his statements. An enthusiastic vote of thanks was awarded to Dr. Brown for the manly and courageous course he had taken.

ATHERSTONE.—On Tuesday last Mr. J. Carvell Williams delivered a lecture in the Corn Exchange, Atherstone, on the "Liberation question, and the duty of young men in relation to it." This was the first of a series of lectures to be delivered during the winter months in connection with the Coleshill-street Young Men's Association. The lecture, says a correspondent, was a very able one, and was listened to with marked attention and interest. At its close, Mr. Williams alluded to the "No Popery" cry, in

reference to the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church, and pointed out the folly of those who fear that such a measure would strengthen the hands of Roman Catholics, by showing that we must either endow all or disendow all. There has recently been formed a branch of the Liberation Society in the town, and there is reason to believe that the visit of Mr. Williams will impart strength and vigour to that organisation, and tell in favour of the Liberal candidates at the approaching election.

CARDIFF.—A lecture has recently been delivered at this town by the Rev. J. H. Gordon, of Darlington, on the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Dr. Edwards occupied the chair. The hall was crowded almost to suffocation. Mr. Gordon spoke with great animation, and was enthusiastically cheered. At the close of the lecture a discussion took place. The meeting separated with three cheers for the chairman and Mr. Gordon.

SWANSEA.—Last Wednesday the Rev. J. H. Gordon lectured at Swansea, when the large hall was well filled. Mr. Alderman Phillips occupied the chair. Discussion was invited at the close of the lecture, but only one person rose. Several clergymen were present. The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. William Jones, and closed with three cheers for Gladstone and Bright.

CONGLETON.—On the 15th, the Rev. J. H. Gordon, lectured at Congleton, the Mayor occupying the chair. Upwards of a thousand persons were present. On the following evening Mr. Gordon lectured at Harrogate.

READING.—On Wednesday last the Rev. J. F. Stevenson, LL.B., lectured at the Town-hall. There was a crowded audience, and on the platform were most of the principal ministers and laymen belonging to the Nonconformist bodies. Mr. Stevenson lectured with great applause.

DISCOMFITURE OF A CHURCH DEFENDER.—The Rev. S. G. Potter, who has been for some time in England lecturing on behalf of the Irish Church, made his appearance at Dalkeith last week. At the close of his address—

Mr. Elliot, after quoting the opinions of some eminent statesmen on the character of the Irish Church, in doing which he was frequently interrupted by Mr. Potter, then asked—Are you Rector of Duncormack? Mr. Potter—I am, sir. Mr. Elliot—Will you be kind enough to state to the meeting the number of Protestants in your parish? Mr. Potter declined to answer the question, and said he was not to be caught in such a trap—(loud cries of "Answer the question.") Mr. Elliot—I consider the question is a fair one, as the gentleman has maintained that the Irish Church is a great success. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Potter still declined to answer, and said the gentleman has statistics in his hand, and can answer it himself. (Great uproar.) Mr. Elliot—I want you to answer. Mr. Potter—The book by Mr. Skeats, from which you are quoting, I can prove to be erroneous; but I will refer to that in my lecture on Sunday evening, in the parish church. Mr. Elliot—I will take your answer. Mr. Potter, however, still declined, and it was only after Mr. Elliot's appeal to the chairman to rule whether the question was a proper one, and the chairman's decision that it was, that Mr. Potter answered, The number is seventy. (Loud cries of "Oh! oh! and laughter.") But I am also appointed over the whole parish. Mr. Elliot—What is the number of Roman Catholics in the parish? Mr. Potter—Upwards of a thousand. (Great laughter.) Mr. Elliot—I see it stated in the returns I hold, that for attending to these seventy men, women, and children, you draw an annual income of £264. Is that correct? Mr. Potter—Yes. (Oh! oh! and hooting.) Mr. Elliot—Do you consider your parish a fair average specimen of the success which you say has attended the Irish Church? Mr. Potter—I have only been eighteen months there, and am not answerable for my predecessors.

After a little further discussion Mr. Elliot moved a resolution in favour of the disendowment of the Irish Church, when the lecturer abruptly left the platform, and was hooted and hissed as he made his way out of the hall.

HIGHGATE.—A lecture on the Irish Church was delivered on the 12th inst., by the Rev. Josiah Viney, to a large audience at the Congregational schoolroom. Several Church-people attended, and the lecture was listened to throughout with marked attention. At its close, a copy of the tract published by the Congregational Union was distributed to the meeting, and a cordial vote of thanks awarded to the lecturer.

OTHER MEETINGS.—Mr. Laurence Gane continues his able services to this movement. Last week Mr. Gane lectured at Wednesbury, Nuneaton, Alcester, and Stratford-on-Avon. On Monday night Mr. Gane was at Margate, and last night at Ramsgate.—A series of meetings, attended by the Rev. J. H. Humphreys, of Wellington, will be held in Somerset, Devon, and at the end of this month the Rev. Charles Williams, of Southampton, visits Plymouth and Devonport.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

In our last number we gave a report of the proceedings of the first day's session (Tuesday) at Leeds. In the evening the annual meeting was held in East Parade Chapel, which was crowded in every part. Mr. BAINES, M.P., presided, and in his opening address referred to the progress of their principles during the last quarter of a century, and to the fact that they held fast to the doctrines and forms of the New Testament in their primitive simplicity and power.

We have seen around us grievous departures from what we consider the simple Gospel of Christ. Rationalism on one side, and Sacerdotalism, Sacramentarianism, and Ritualism, on the other side, have pre-

vailed to an alarming extent; and—what is strange—these opposing streams appear to spring out of the same fountain. Am I not right in believing that we have been preserved from these errors?—that we still hold firmly the doctrines and rules which, so far as we can judge, the Apostles and their immediate successors held—salvation through the atonement of the Divine Redeemer—regeneration by the work of the Spirit—justification by faith—Christ our prophet, priest, and king—the spiritual nature of the Christian Church—the simplicity of worship—the all-sufficiency of Holy Scripture as the statute-book of Christians—the right of private judgment and of conscience—the rules of life and duty—and our obligation to seek the conversion of the world? (Applause.) So far as I know, we are still at our old moorings; or, somewhat to change the figure, in navigating the ocean of life, we trust to the same anchor and cable, the same chart and compass, and the same wise and good pilot, to bring us to the desired haven. (Applause.)

Referring to the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church, he believed Congregationalists unanimously approved of Mr. Gladstone's policy—(Hear)—and he denied that they were actuated by any want of loyalty to their Protestant faith, by indifference to the interests of religion, by any wish to see the Episcopal Church in Ireland less efficient for religious teaching, or by self-interest in any form or degree, except only the interest which they have in the triumph of justice and the peace and prosperity of the empire. (Loud applause.) Their animating motive on this occasion had been a wish that justice should be done to the people of Ireland, and thus peace and union secured to the kingdom; but their disinterested and sincere conviction was, that true religion and Protestantism itself would gain, and not lose, by the change.

The Rev. J. C. HARRISON afterwards spoke earnestly on "The importance of a firm adherence to true Protestant principles." If, he said, Protestants thoroughly understood their principles—if they felt the immense worth of principles as the pillars upon which all that was great and good rested—he should feel that there was no cause of alarm against the advance of Romanism. But he was sorry to say this was not the case; and he earnestly urged for the sake of individual manhood and of national independence that his hearers should cleave firmly to their Protestant principles. They desired to keep from their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen no right that they could properly claim. They wished to give them perfect freedom of worship. They desired to treat them with the utmost kindness and cordiality as men. They freely acknowledged that even in the midst of their errors there was much of precious truth, but they strongly protested against their system as a whole, and seriously hoped that the glorious Reformation so dearly won might never be undone. (Applause.)

The Rev. R. W. DALE, M.A., followed with a valuable paper on "Congregationalism in relation to national life." He defended Congregationalists against two charges which he said were often brought against them, one charge being that they were too political, too active, too incessant, and too restless in their interference with political affairs; and the other, that they desired to secularise the political life of the country by separating the Church from the State.

The Rev. Dr. PARKER delivered the next address, his subject being—"Christian simplicity in religious work and worship." In the course of his eloquent and forcible remarks, Dr. Parker dwelt on the simplicity which characterised Congregational worship and Congregationalism generally; and urged the importance of the ministers of that body preaching the Gospel with the robustness of men and with the simplicity of little children.

Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY, who was received with loud cheers, moved that the thanks of the meeting should be given to Mr. Baines, M.P., for presiding on that occasion, and for his lengthened and efficient services in Parliament and otherwise to the cause of civil and religious liberty and popular education. (Applause.) So long as Mr. Baines had a seat in the House of Commons they need never fear that Congregationalism would want a warm and a trusted advocate in that distinguished assembly. ("Hear, hear," and applause.) He represented the feelings of every Congregationalist when he expressed the hope that the names of Baines and Leeds would be for many a long year politically associated. (Loud applause.)

The resolution having been seconded by the Rev. Dr. GEORGE SMITH and cordially adopted, Mr. BAINES made a suitable reply, and the proceedings terminated, as they had commenced, with singing and prayer.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

The ministers and delegates assembled for the second time in session on Wednesday morning in Queen-street Chapel, Leeds. The Rev. Dr. Raleigh presided. Before the chief business was proceeded with, the Rev. H. ALLON, of London, said that an invitation had been addressed to the members of the Union that they should hold their next annual assembly in Wolverhampton. The proposition was accepted.

LAY AGENCY.

The Rev. JOHN HALLETT, of Norwich, read a paper on "Lay Work in Congregational Churches." He said his object was to show that a great moral army of men and women in the Congregational churches might be called forth. There were 2,000 such churches in England and Wales, and the power in them of that kind must be immense, and, in fact, the pressing spiritual necessities of the times showed the importance of calling it forth and marshalling it

into action. But on the very threshold there was the reluctance of men and women of culture, tact, and piety to share in what must be a toilsome and self-denying, but glorious cause. Let lay agency be recognised as part of the Church's agency in doing the Church's work. It was a mistake to suppose that village preaching was of no service. There was no reason why laymen should not preach; indeed, he regretted that they preached so little. But there were humbler duties which needed no appointment to, by the performance of which essential service might be rendered. A kind word of recognition to the outcast or stranger who might find his way to the house of God might be of more value than many a sermon. He specified tract distribution, Bible-classes, and other non-official services; and Christian women might do incalculable good to the present and to generations yet unborn by looking to the spiritual needs of the young shopwomen and the factory girls. It was his conviction that this kind of agency would be shorn of much of its power if it was of a paid and official character. If the case of the family would admit of it, such services would be best rendered by judicious wives and mothers. (Applause.) He would seek to develop lay agency by means of Church institutions, and there was the diaconate which would prove of invaluable blessing, both to the pastor and the church, if thoroughly organised. As to the employment of lay preachers, he believed there was more power among the Congregationalists for this work than was to be found in any other section of the Church. (Applause.)

Mr. HENRY SPICER, jun., B.A., also read a valuable paper on the same subject an account of which we must reserve for our next number.

The Rev. J. R. THOMSON, M.A., moved that—

Frequently as the subject of lay agency has been brought under the notice of the Congregational Union, this assembly is convinced that the state of our country and the peculiar character of the times in which we live, called for renewed attention on the part of our pastors and church-members, and recommends the study of the papers now read, with a view to renewed and revived activity in our churches.

Ald. BAINES, of Leicester, seconded the motion, and, after an interesting and practical discussion, it was adopted.

TEETOTALISM AND CONGREGATIONALISTS.

The Rev. A. HANNAY, of West Croydon, next read a paper on "The claims of the temperance movement on the churches."

He said he spoke in the name of those who abstained from the use of intoxicating beverages. They did not disregard the man who could restrain his appetite, but, finding the working class marred in all its power by the prevalence of drunkenness, it was surely wise to put a stop to it by the expedient of abstinence. That might be an extreme measure, but the evil was of appalling dimensions, and did not respect scholarship or genius, or even the man nearly approaching to Christianity. He could not make a picture of drunkenness to portray its full character—any amount of canvas would fail him for the picture—but men's power, even in the churches, was crippled by the drinking customs, though they might not have come to the real degradation of drunkenness. But signs were setting in among the better classes of society of a new system of drinking. They had been flattering themselves that drunkenness was not now so prevalent as it had been. A better portion of the working classes had been purging themselves from the taint, and in the upper and middle classes it was believed that a better fashion prevailed now than once. But now they were warned by the leaders of the most secular section of the press that there was now a startling familiarity of the wine cup in high places, and among the mothers and daughters of our people, which if not checked threatened to bring back old times. Surely this was a monstrous thing, and ought not men to abstain, in order that they might restore their neighbour by their example? Excessive drinkers were men ruined in body and estate—and they were computed to be in England 600,000 men and women—who by this evil practice were shut out from all that was good in this world, and it might also be from all that was good in the next. It was said the Bible was against the temperance movement. If so he would recant upon the spot, but at least it gave him liberty to abstain, and all that he desired was liberty. (Applause.) Mr. Hannay went on to discuss the objection that he and others set up a higher standard of morality than Christ. If they abstained from a usage which was popular, and which for many reasons was attractive, but which was, they believed, destroying the people, could they be called setting up a higher standard? In conclusion, he said he hoped the Congregational Union would do nothing to disparage or hinder the temperance movement. (Applause.)

The Rev. E. R. CONDER, of Leeds, moved—

That this assembly cheerfully recognises the claims which the temperance movement has on the Congregational churches of this country, being convinced that the prevailing habits of intemperance impede the evangelisation of the people, and frequently bring dishonour on the name and profession of Christianity; they would earnestly commend the subject to the prayerful consideration of the pastors and officers of the churches, so that they may wisely employ such measures as are adapted under the Divine blessing to reclaim the intemperate, and preserve the young and inexperienced from the ensnaring influence of intoxicating drinks. (Applause.) If this resolution had committed those present to the actual practice of abstinence, or especially to taking the pledge, it would not have been placed in his hands. It was not to be supposed that it was always from inconsiderateness and insensibility that they were not all where Mr. Hannay was on this question. (Hear, hear.) He and his friends might be right, as he (Mr. Conder) was sure they were in their motives, and those not exactly with them might be wrong, but he was quite sure there were none who did not abstain from joining their movement for want of any earnest and thoughtful consideration, nor for want of having had their feelings so painfully appealed to. Whatever evils might be traced to the ordinary usages, the very taproot of the evil was in the public-house system—(Hear, hear)—and most of all in the public-house

system being licensed on a Sunday. He should be most thankful to see any movement for putting a strong hand on the repression and suppression of those innumerable drinking-houses, and on the system of throwing them open on the Sunday, when they became so many traps for the ruin of multitudes. (Applause.) Mr. W. H. CONYERS seconded the resolution. He said, while the teetotalers, of whom he was one, did not test the results of Christian usefulness by the fact of whether a man was a total abstainer or not, they did believe that when a man became an abstainer he rose a little higher, and he did wish that more of their ministers, as well as laymen, would give a more careful and serious consideration to this matter.

The Rev. H. TARRANT supported the resolution as one who for twenty-nine years had interested himself incessantly and earnestly to carry out the principles contained in Mr. Hannay's paper. It was impossible to exaggerate the evils of the drinking customs of the country, and he adduced figures to show that intoxication was a worse evil than war, and the fertile source of desolation, crime, and pauperism. The Rev. L. HARVEY, of Leicester, suggested that Mr. Hannay's admirable paper should be printed in the "Year-book," and the Rev. Dr. SMITH announced that the committee would adopt the suggestion.

Mr. BAINES, M.P., being loudly called for, rose and said: there were some facts on which there could be no doubt, and the first was that the drinking system was incomparably the greatest curse, morally, religiously, socially, and industrially, that existed in this country. The next fact was equally clear—that total abstinence was the only cure for persons addicted to drunkenness, and it also afforded perfect security against falling into that vice. It had been said there was heroism into the total abstainer, but there was none at all—for during the thirty-one years that he had abstained he had not led an idle life exactly—(Hear, hear)—and he had always experienced a high degree of health, activity, vigour, and enjoyment, and he believed those who were total abstainers were capable of exercising a far higher influence for moral and religious ends than those did who were not total abstainers. He would lay that on the consciences of all the ministers present; and he took the opportunity of mentioning, by way of example, that he believed they had in that meeting a young lady who had reclaimed hundreds of drunkards. (Applause.) After some other observations especially remarking that he did not say wine and spirits might not be taken medicinally, he was followed by Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY, who made a remark in obedience to a call from all parts of the chapel. He spoke of the mighty power of personal agency in connection with this movement, and contended that any personal influence was quadrupled when any person employing it could say, "See, I am doing as I advise you to do." (Hear, hear.) The Rev. Mr. HODGES, of Brotherton, the Rev. A. HALL, of Tottenham, the Rev. J. PILLANS, of Camberwell, Mr. JONES, and others, also spoke, and the resolution was adopted. Mr. H. WRIGHT reported from the Reference Committee that they had received two memorials—one from the Central Association for Suppressing the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, whose office was in Manchester, and the other was from the committee of the British Temperance League at Bolton. He read the latter, and said the other would be sent to the Congregational ministers, as it appealed to them to preach on the subject next Sunday, or on the first convenient occasion. The session then closed for the day.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION.

On Thursday morning there was the usual assembly at ten o'clock in Queen-street Chapel, Leeds, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Raleigh. The first business was to receive

THE REPORTS OF DELEGATES.

The Rev. A. MACDONALD, from Canada, secretary of the French Canadian Missionary Society, entered into an interesting statement of the work of evangelisation going on among the Franco-Canadian Roman Catholics. The work began with the instrumentality of a few Swiss colporteurs, under circumstances which were very depressing. But they felt it their duty—these men being their fellow-subjects—to reach them with the Gospel. Now they had six organised churches and twenty-nine stations at which the Gospel was preached. They had educated 1,800 children, and there were upwards of 5,000 converts, not only from Popery but to Christ, many of whom had left to seek a home in the adjacent republic. There were many other French Canadians who had not yet declared their faith, but were under Christian influences, and were surrounded by social and family relationships and business connections which prevented them from openly declaring Christ. Prejudices were very much abated, and though the Liberal party there was always opposed by the priests, the action of the party in opposing Church and State in the Dominion of Canada led to an increased and consequent spread of truth. The society was compelled to go forward, and it had increased its agencies, but without aid from England it would fail to extend the truth among the French Canadians. The Chairman, the Rev. Mr. Balgarnie, and the Rev. Dr. Smith, each of whom had been in Canada and realised its Protestant feeling and hearty hospitality, spoke in recommendation of Mr. Macdonald's visit and its object.

The Rev. ROBERT TRUPEPENNY, from the Congregational Union of Scotland, addressed the meeting on the work of Congregationalism in Scotland as compared with England. He then said in England men were looking forward to great and momentous conflicts in the future. Not only Scotch Independents, but the whole of Scotland would be found on

the right side. Talking about an increase of Liberal members—why Scotland had Liberals for three-fourths of their members. (Applause.) As to the Irish Church, in its present condition, there would scarcely be a voice heard in its favour from Solway Firth to John O'Groat's. (Applause.) As to the "No Popery" cry, Scotchmen laughed it to scorn. (Applause.) Scotland was Protestant to the backbone, and had been ever since John Knox's days. If a free church was wanted in England, let them follow the example Scotland had set in the way of disestablishment and disendowment. They were prepared to go shoulder to shoulder with the Congregationalists of England in doing battle for freedom, righteousness, and justice. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. MULLENS, in the absence of the Rev. W. Ellis, recounted what the latest news was from Madagascar. He gave a most satisfactory account of the state of religion and piety among princes and people in that island, and said there was no paid agency; but a sudden pressure had come upon the work, and the native helpers required some aid to stimulate them to a higher and more healthy exercise of their privileges and functions.

The Rev. A. HANNAY made a report from the Congregational Union in Ireland, the last assembly of which he had attended. There need be no apprehension, he said, that amongst the Irish ministers there would be any cowardice or trimming with regard to the Irish Church. He had to convey the gratitude of the Irish ministers to this Union for their sympathy, and accompanied it by a request that the Union of England and Wales would not desert them in this their hour of sore trial.

The Rev. B. S. ASHTON, jun., M.A., delivered a message of cordial greeting from the Evangelical Churches of France. He said there were forty-two churches in France, with a membership of 3,000, and it was hoped that the churches there would continue to prosper and increase, and to uphold in that great empire the freedom of religion. (Applause.)

The Rev. T. W. DAVIES (Colchester) read a report with reference to the establishment of a Free Church Historical Society, after which, the Rev. Dr. SMITH (London) moved, and the Rev. B. DALE (Halifax) seconded a resolution approving of the report, and commending it to the committee of the Union for further consideration.

DISSENTERS AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS was then called upon to read a paper on "The Duty of Protestant Dissenters in connection with the General Election," which we give in *extenso*. He said:—"Should it be asked—either by friendly or hostile inquirers—what have Protestant Dissenters, as such, specially to do with the present electoral struggle? and, in particular, why should the topic engage the attention of this Union? it will be easy to give both a pertinent and a sufficient answer. The position which English Nonconformists occupy at this moment is almost unprecedented in their recent political history. For with a general election immediately at hand, instead of displaying, as they have been wont to do, anxiety for the redress of any personal grievance, they are energetically insisting on the adoption of a great principle. With happy foresight, they have rid themselves of compulsory Church-rates just when their energies are called forth by graver issues; while the abolition of sectarianism at the Universities is so certain to be one of the first acts of a new Parliament, that its electoral importance has become comparatively small. The Nonconformists of this country have still to complain of wrongs inflicted, and of rights withheld; but, just now, it is felt by them that their one great business is to emancipate the Roman Catholic millions of Ireland from the yoke of a Church Establishment, long denounced, often menaced, and now assuredly about to fall. It is true that this great work is not theirs alone, but that of the political party, of which, with rare exceptions, they are themselves members, and that, as a result of a combination of circumstances, that party is united as one man in policy, as well as in design. But this very solidarity in the ranks of Liberalism is distinctly traceable to Nonconformist influence. A year ago there were Liberal leaders whose panacea for the ecclesiastical ills of Ireland was—not disestablishment, but a multiplication of establishments—not disendowment, but more endowment—endowment to Romanist, to Presbyterian, and, if they were so minded, to Dissenters of every shade. That this has now become a Conservative, instead of a Liberal project, may be due in part to the attitude—the dignified attitude—assumed by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church; but it is due in a yet greater degree to the stern hostility of English and Scottish Nonconformists. It is they who have impelled, perhaps, the major part, certainly very many, of the Liberal party to commit themselves to a levelling-down instead of a levelling-up policy—to adopt in Ireland a principle which they, as yet, shrink from applying to England, and to apply that principle with a decision of purpose quite foreign to the ordinary habits of politicians. This is the first fact which may be named, as suggestive of the special duty imposed on Nonconformists at the present crisis. They are in the position of allies—marching under their own colours, and inspired by their own special aims—who have virtually determined the position and the plans of the allied army. They have, therefore, assumed a great re-

sponsibility, and it is a duty they owe to those whom they have both guided and stimulated to support them with an ardour which will more than justify a boldness that, in the eyes of the timid, has bordered on temerity. Let it be remembered that while we, as Nonconformists, in assailing the Irish Establishment run no risks, and do no violence to feeling or conviction, it is not so with all our comrades. And, if we can with unblanching faces look to a future in which Christianity will confront error and sin, unaided by legislative appliances, let it be borne in mind that others, untutored in such a faith, will need all the strengthening influences which strong-souled companions can possibly bring to bear upon them. By large numbers of Nonconformists this sense of responsibility has been already deeply felt, and, not only during the last few weeks, but all through this year, they have rendered to the noble-minded statesman whose lead they are proud to follow, support, the value of which he himself would, no doubt, gratefully acknowledge. But is there no danger that the brilliancy of the Parliamentary campaign may have blinded us to dangers in the field of electoral action, and that we may calculate on a triumph then with a confidence which may not, indeed, render it impossible, but may tend to dim its splendour? Let it be clearly understood that the Irish Establishment means to die hard, and that, if it did not, its English supporters, whether wisely or unwisely, will prolong its existence to the last hour. The latter are working with a pertinacity of which we cannot complain, but which we should do well to imitate. They hold few meetings, but they distribute many tracts and pamphlets, preach many sermons, and, especially, they rely on the exertion of direct personal influence. It is true that much of their printed matter is, critically judged, almost contemptible, and that mendacity and misrepresentation characterise many of their statements and appeals. But these are exactly the means adapted to affect the ignorant, the stupid, and the credulous, and their votes at the hustings will count as of equal value with those of the most intelligent of the electoral class. Has everything yet been done that might be done to neutralise such efforts? Have even the intelligent, but only half-informed, voters been as fully impressed as they should be with the gravity of the question which they have to assist in deciding? We, who have almost all our lives known what the Irish Establishment is, and the incalculable mischief it has wrought, may not need another grain of argument or of fact; but who can suppose that even a majority of our newly enfranchised fellow-countrymen are equally convinced and equally resolute? Yet the weeks are very few during which the tutorial work, which is still needed, can be done with immediate practical results. Let, then, the members of this assembly, when it shall be dissolved, go to their homes with the feeling that necessity is laid upon them to renew, without weariness, exertions which cannot be too great for the cause they are designed to serve—which will presently seem small, when compared with the glory and the beneficence of the result. Let each one, whether minister or layman, elector or non-elect, an obscure man or the leader of a host, survey afresh his own parish, town, or county, and whatsoever his hand findeth to do, in the way of instruction or of entreaty, let him do it with his might. I have spoken of the influence which Nonconformists are capable of exerting on the community at large, but it would be unwise to conceal the fact, that some of their labour needs to be expended within the ranks of Nonconformity itself. Yes! let it be acknowledged that there are at least a few—I believe a very few—Dissenters who, unless they are brought to a better mind, mean, for the first time in their lives, to give a Tory vote—that some others will refrain from voting either way, and that others, again, are hesitating, because doubting and perplexed. We need not wonder at these facts; nor is there anything in them to justify the exultation of opponents. The real marvel is, that Nonconformists of such various types, and with such differing political antecedents, should have been as pronounced as they have been in their adhesion to an anti-establishment policy. Dissenters never have been all anti-State-Churchmen, and even those who hold Establishments to be theoretically indefensible may, in some cases, be excused a little trepidity at the suddenness with which an abstract idea has been transferred to the domain of practical politics. So far as doubts are honestly entertained, and *bona fide* objections are urged, it is better to endeavour to remove, or to meet, them, than to pour contempt upon the doubters or objectors. With so strong a case, we can afford to be considerate, and if we cannot afford to be also very patient, it is only because time presses, and decisive action cannot be delayed. When Episcopalian recruits are flocking to our standard, we may expect that the amount of Dissenting defection will ultimately be but small. There are those who would escape from all responsibility in regard to this great struggle, with the exclamation, in their hearts, if not on their lips:—

Oh! for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumour of oppression and deceit
Might never reach me more!

But so long as Christian men are in the world, and not in the wilderness, they cannot refuse to discharge the duties of citizenship without doing violence to the law of God, and inflicting injury on their fellow-men. To "live godly in this present evil world" is to do more than cultivate spiritual-mindedness in one's self—it is to bring the power of godliness to bear, as a mighty force, upon all the relationships of life. It is a cry for justice which now summons us to the contest, and such a cry should fall on Christian ears as a sacred call. It is the cause of religion which

is suffering in Ireland, as well as the political and social interests of Irishmen; and it is vain in such a case to talk of neutrality, for neutrality is impossible. He who refuses to exercise his political power to put an end to an unrighteous system, becomes a supporter of unrighteousness. He aids the enemies of truth and right, by his quiescence, only in a less degree than by affording them active help. He is political even while proclaiming himself to be non-political; only his influence is thrown into what he knows to be the wrong scale, and he is, however unconsciously, betraying principles which, so far as he wishes at all, he wishes to be triumphant. The wisdom that so acts may be peaceable, but it lacks the element of purity, and its possessors, instead of meriting our respect for superior piety, rather bring down upon themselves the sharp rebuke of the angel of the Lord, "Curse ye Meroz, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord; to the help of the Lord against the mighty!" If, however, there is danger of Nonconformist faithlessness in any quarter, it is attributable, mainly, not to the suggestions of misguided religious feeling, but to reluctance based only upon fear. It is the supposed peril to which Protestantism will be exposed which makes some Nonconformists, and a still larger number of Episcopalians, hesitate to join in the work of disestablishment. That the latter should be so affected is natural enough; for they have been nurtured in the school of timidity and distrust, but fear of consequences should be the very last element to determine the political course of Nonconformists. What has been the chief weapon with which they have themselves been assailed, in the assertion of their own rights as citizens? Has it not always been—from the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts down to the Abolition of compulsory Church-rates—a cry of danger to religion and the throne—to the rights of property and to the interests of truth? And will any of them now play into the hands of alarmists who meet the just demands of Irish Roman Catholics with precisely similar cries? These gloomy prophecies of the past never have been fulfilled, and that of itself is enough to justify our scepticism now; but, in truth, it is not permitted to us in such a matter to be governed by our fears. The one question which can be legitimately put is—"Does justice require that the Irish Church should be disestablished? If to that only an affirmative answer can be given, then—come what will to Protestantism—we are bound to commence the work of disestablishment. To refuse to do so because our religious views as Protestants may, possibly, suffer is to make those views odious, by associating them with oppression—to weaken our cause, by showing ourselves to be wanting in manliness and faith. But where in the proposed treatment of the Irish Establishment is there the shadow of a justification for these craven fears? Is it in the substitution of "the supremacy of a foreign prince for the authority of our sovereign?" That is the assertion of our present Prime Minister, who shows the sincerity of his antipathy to Papal pretensions by proposing to endow Popery. But what is this royal supremacy, which has suddenly become the sheet anchor of the State? It exists nowhere but in the United Church of England and Ireland, and it is found by many of its members to be unendurable even there. It is unrecognised in Scotland. The millions of English Nonconformists abjure it—for they have "another King—one Jesus." Our colonies know nothing of it, and yet enjoy the blessings of civilisation and of religion. And, as regards the establishment of Papal supremacy; with what new power is it proposed to invest the Papal Church in Ireland? It has no power in that country which is not spiritual or moral, and if the Church of England were disestablished tomorrow, it would have the same power and no other. But maintain the Establishment—and what then? Why even our ultra-Protestant Premier admits that the status of the Roman Catholic clergy must be altered; or, in plainer words, that they must share with Protestants the legal powers and the privileges of an Establishment. It is in this quarter, and not in the direction of disestablishment, that the real danger to Protestantism lurks. The detailed statements lately published in regard to the feelings with which Mr. Gladstone's policy is regarded at the Vatican, may be true or may be fictitious; but can any sagacious mind reason itself into the belief that the Church of Rome regards that policy as being Romish, instead of Protestant, in its tendencies? Aply has it been said, "If you would destroy the tigers—burn the jungle!" The only effective way of preventing the political dominance of any Church is to withhold political power from all Churches. So long as any Church is established by law in these realms, so long it will be a natural aspiration of Romanists that their Church should occupy the coveted position. So long as national authority is exercised, and national property expended, to uphold any form of religion in Ireland, the Roman Catholic majority of that country have a right to demand that their religion should enjoy the favours of the State. But let establishments wholly cease—let the sword too long at the disposal of a Church be henceforward drawn only in the interests of the State—let it be proclaimed, as a fixed principle of legislation, that the members of all religious communities shall not be dealt with otherwise than as members of the Commonwealth—and then the dream of Papal ascendancy will cease to inspire Catholic, or to agitate Protestant, breasts, and to the loudest political demands of Rome may be given the defiant response:—"Hitherto shall thou come, and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." There are those whose fears are of a less speculative character, and who view with apprehension the threatened withdrawal of Protestant clergymen from parishes where Protestants are, it is alleged, too few to provide religious teaching for themselves. To such

persons it will not be a consolatory, but it is a material fact, that the issue which they dread is likely to be witnessed, whether the future fortunes of the Irish Church are shaped by Conservative or by Liberal statesmen. Already many parishes in Ireland have been disestablished by the amalgamation of them with other parishes, while the report of the Royal Commission on the Irish Church expressly recommends that, wherever the Church population—not the Protestant only, but the Church population—is below forty, the parish shall be united with a neighbouring parish, and the benefice consequently extinguished. In other words, the missionary is to be withdrawn just where his work is most needed, and Protestantism is to be left in all the helplessness supposed to be involved in disestablishment. There are, however, counterbalancing considerations, which should serve to reassure those to whose misgivings I have now referred. One is that, when Protestantism in Ireland ceases to rely on the props and crutches of State support, it may be expected to put forth all its latent powers. State-aid often perpetuates weakness by concealing it, and in Ireland, as in England, the parochial principle keeps many in darkness, while the world imagines that they have the light. If the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland ever becomes a truly missionary Church, and if Irish Nonconformists are fired with aggressive ardour, it will be when it is felt that nothing stands between the Irish people and the deadly influences of the now predominating creed, but the power of Scriptural truth, and the self-sacrificing energy of its champions. Then the strong will feel, as they have never felt before, the obligation to help the weak; and, the barriers of sectarianism broken down, if not wholly gone, there will be union in evangelistic effort, and a beneficent rivalry in Christian enterprise. Still more important will be the gain to Protestantism which will result from its disavowance from that which, in Ireland, has been an obstacle to its progress which nothing short of the miraculous could have overcome. The heart of the Irish Roman Catholic, now steeled against Protestantism, because it is associated with the degradation of his country, will be softened by Protestant fairness, and by a too novel display of English magnanimity. Difficulties, neither few or small, will unquestionably have to be encountered in the settlement of this, as of other Irish questions; but it is as unwise to exaggerate as it is to ignore them. Some of these difficulties will specially demand the attention, and call for the vigilance, of Nonconformists. The outlines which Mr. Gladstone has so boldly sketched must presently be filled in, and it will be when principles, the full scope of which may not be apparent now, come to be practically applied, that the principles themselves, and the men who hold them, will be tested to the uttermost. It is already evident—the letters just now conspicuously appearing in the *Times* make it so—that there will yet be a struggle to assert, in some form or other, and by indirect, if not direct means, the principle of indiscriminate endowment. There are also grave questions rising in the minds of practical men which must at some period be definitely answered. What, for instance, is to be the future relationship to the State of those dignitaries and clergymen of the Irish Church who, by the will of all parties, will continue to enjoy their present incomes during life? Is the State, in dealing with the Church, to loose her and let her go? or is there still to be exercised over it some of that restraining influence on the value of which Erastian Churchmen and Erastian politicians so strongly insist? Is the Church to be left to drift into confusion? or is it to undergo a process of reconstruction? and, if the latter, in whom is the reconstructing power to be vested? And if she is to be treated by the State as a purely voluntary association, how can such treatment be reconciled with the fact that she will be part and parcel of a Church still subject to imperial legislation, and whose organisation cannot be altered without the licence of the State? These questions, which might be multiplied, shadow forth problems the solution of which is not impossible, but which will tax to the utmost the genius and the wisdom of modern statesmanship. And, in attempting to solve them, statesmen and Churchmen have a right to look for aid from Nonconformists. Let us not, then, suppose that all duty will be discharged when the coming election is over, but rather let us look upon that event as but one act in a great drama in which we are called upon to take part, and, by wise forethought and patient study, prepare ourselves and others for the scenes which are to follow. And now, having spoken freely of both duties and difficulties, let me with equal freedom, but with more brevity, say something of the dangers to which, at such a juncture as the present, not Nonconformists alone, but all Christian men who engage in the strife of politics, are undoubtedly exposed. I do not deny that such men stand in slippery places, and, as I cannot conscientiously bid them go elsewhere, I say only, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." Writing on the prayer-meeting lately held in London at the instance of the Evangelical Alliance, the *Times* expressed its inability to conceive what topics religious men of differing politics could with sincerity make the subject of united prayer. The writer, however, did, towards the close of his speculations, stumble upon the truth that, in view of the allowed license of a general election, it might be well to pray for more *virtue*, and, accepting that as a fitting phrase, we may at this time well give heed to the injunction—"add to your faith *virtue*." It has been said that this election will be the most costly, and the most corrupt, that England has ever known. I sorrowfully admit the costliness, but God forbid that the threatened wave of electoral corruption should roll over us! But I fancy I hear it asked—Why broach such a topic here? and that members

of our churches and congregations may indignantly ask:—

What! shall one of us—shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes?

Well! I hope that the event will justify the reply—"Impossible!" but, instead of pressing any inquiry on the point, I wish to urge that it is not enough for Christian men to be able to say, in such a matter, "These hands are clean!" because they have, as far as possible, to keep others clean-handed also. No one can doubt the influence of Nonconformists in the electoral committee-room, and they are bound to exert it to the utmost to stamp out this moral plague; as well as resolutely to set themselves against that profligate expenditure which is the bane, and threatens to become the ruin, of our electoral system. And there are other forms of corruption than those of a direct pecuniary kind, and these assume the shape of temptations into which even Nonconformists are sometimes liable to fall. He who votes, or who refrains from voting, not at the bidding of his conscience, but to win a great man's smile, or to avert his frown; to keep a customer, or to oblige a friend; to gratify personal pique, or to avoid personal inconvenience, that man corruptly, and not honestly, discharges his electoral duty, and though his excuses may be abundant, his offence is, in most cases, inexcusable. The sympathy and the activity which do not culminate in a vote are worse than useless, for they delude and they demoralise. Let one other danger be hinted at—that to which we are all most exposed. It is popularly believed that "all's fair in love, law, and electioneering," and, so far as electioneering is concerned, the popular practice commonly corresponds with the popular belief. Hence it is that men will, for political and party purposes, indulge in vituperation, in insinuation, and in calumny, of which they would at other times be ashamed. Not stooping to the gutter merely, but going down into the very sewer itself, they will collect the most foul and filthy to bespatter a political adversary, whose arguments they cannot answer, and of whose moral power they stand in dread. I do not say let us avoid this sin; for that would imply a probability which, I believe, does not exist. But let us scrupulously refrain from everything which may seem to sanction the offence in others. Let us set a watch upon our own spirits, and jealously scrutinise our own acts, that by example, as well as by precept, we may do somewhat to sweeten the bitter waters of party strife, and to give dignity to a great national controversy. It needs that some one should lift the business of legislation out of the mire through which it has been lately dragged; that statesmanship may cease to be mere sleight-of-hand, and politics a trade in tricks. If at this dawning of a new political era, Nonconformists display the God-fearing patriotism, and the glowing fervour, without the fanaticism, of their Puritan fathers, their reward may be great indeed. For presently the little leaven may leaven the whole lump, and then a lofty, because a Christianised, public policy will establish the righteousness that exalteth a nation, and banish the sins which are a reproach to any people.* (The reading of the above paper was received with much applause.)

Mr. E. BUTLER (Leeds) was very glad to find that this question had at last been elevated into the rank of a religious question. He believed that as far as Leeds was concerned, there was a very noble spirit of anti-corruption amongst the newly-enfranchised working classes, who refused to be paid in any way for their services. (Hear, hear.) He had attended many of the ward meetings in the town, and he had not seen the slightest sign of the spirit of corruption. (Hear, hear.) He concluded by proposing a resolution to the effect that in receiving the valuable paper just read the meeting expressed its firm conviction that the suffrages of the members of their churches ought at the present crisis to be given to candidates in favour of religious freedom; and also felt assured that they would discourage to the utmost of their power all electoral practices of an objectionable character, and act on the high principles of patriotism and religion.—The resolution was seconded by Mr. C. TURNBULL (London), who said that there was no doubt that the members of their churches could exercise an immense amount of influence if they only heartily set themselves to work in the present crisis. (Hear, hear.)—The Rev. JAS. GWYNNE (Manchester) expressed his firm hope that every one amongst them would do his part to give a right direction to the minds of their people, and earnestly impress upon the public the necessity of taking a noble, patriotic, and fearless part in this great crisis of our nation's history. (Applause.) He could not conceive any time more fitting than the present when they should assert themselves in favour of a free people and a free religion, unsustained by the State.—The discussion was continued by Mr. W. E. GLYDE (Shipley) and the Rev. J. DICKINSON (Bridlington), the last-named expressing a hope that the paper, of which he spoke in the highest terms, should be printed in a cheap form, in order that they might be able to permeate the country with its noble principles. (Hear, hear.)—The Rev. SAMUEL GOODALL (Durham) suggested that it would be desirable for the ministers to make their views on this question known, not simply from their pulpits, but in the form of lectures to the people on their responsibilities and duties, because he did not think that they could render a more essential service to the cause of Independency and purity of election than by bringing forward their broad firm principles in regard to that matter. (Hear, hear, and applause.)—After a few words by the Rev.

* We are requested to state that, in compliance with the wish expressed at the meeting at which the above paper was read, it will be immediately published for circulation—by Mr. Arthur Miall, of Beaufort-street.

G. M. MURPHY (London), Mr. HENRY LEE (Manchester) feared that there was one matter which would to some extent compromise them as Congregationalists and Free Churchmen. Their leader, whom they all admired, was still a very strong advocate for the union of the English Church with the State, and there was the danger that he saw no connection between the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and the disestablishment of the Church of England, and many Nonconformist speakers had endorsed this opinion. His firm belief, however, was that the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland involved the disestablishment of the Church of England. (Applause.) Although a great deal had been said about the "No-Popery" cry, in his judgment that cry was a great advantage to them, because it would give rise to another cry, namely, "No Prelacy." (Applause.)—The Rev. J. G. ROGERS (London) thought that it was possible to assail the Irish Church on entirely different grounds to the English Church. (Hear, hear.) If the Church of England could not stand without the Church of Ireland, it could not stand with it. (Applause.) Congregational Dissenters had very important duties to discharge; they should seek as far as possible to raise this electoral struggle up to a high level, and he was confident that they could do a great deal towards putting a stop to corruption. He did not see why they should not preach about it—(Hear, hear)—and he considered that it was the duty of a minister to teach his people that the suffrage was a trust which they were bound in honour to maintain.—The Rev. A. REED, the Rev. R. BRUCE (Huddersfield)—who did not think it was their duty to bring into undue prominence the necessary connection between the Irish Church and the English Church—Mr. EVAN WILLIAMS (Merthyr Tydvil), and Mr. HY. KINGDON (Bedminster), having spoken on the same subject, Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY responded to the loud calls of the meeting. He said that he had never heard a more excellent paper read; he wished that it could be placed in the hands of every voter in the kingdom, and commended its circulation to the committee. He entirely believed in the propriety of ministers speaking upon the subject, but at the same time he expressed his confidence that the great masses of the population would act rightly in the matter. (Hear, hear.) He had had a large correspondence with many boroughs and some counties, and he was prepared to say that not only was there, with few exceptions, an entire absence of anything that was embarrassing, but working men, where they were treated as intelligent persons, were coming forward to settle the question themselves, the consequence being that Tory members were quietly withdrawing because they saw that there was no chance for them. (Applause.) He strongly advised that they should not act with feelings of distrust towards the working men, but that they should sympathise and co-operate cordially with them, and then they might hope to obtain their full confidence. (Hear, hear.) He thought that a great deal was done last session of Parliament that would tend to check corruption in the future, and he must say that Mr. Disraeli and the leaders of the Conservatives had in that respect stood to their guns quite as thoroughly as the Liberals. He felt distinctly that many of the arguments that were used for the disestablishment of the Irish Church were inapplicable to the Church of England, and the really honest policy to pursue was to deal with the Irish Church as a system *per se*. (Applause.) Mr. Wm. Crossfield, Liverpool; the Rev. W. Cuthbertson, Bishop Stortford; and Mr. Henry Wright, London, also spoke, after which the resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Rev. W. THOMAS (Leeds) moved, and the Rev. A. H. BYLES (Headingley) seconded, a vote of acknowledgment to the Rev. Thomas Binney and all who had taken part in the proceedings of the session. The motion having been cordially assented to, the Rev. Dr. SMITH (London) proposed a resolution recording the heartfelt acknowledgments of the ministers and delegates for the admirable arrangements which had been made by the local committee and secretaries (the latter of whom were the Rev. A. H. Byles and Mr. George Scotson) for the hospitable reception that had been accorded to them, not only by the Congregational families in the town, but by members of other denominations; and expressing an earnest desire for the growing prosperity of Leeds and its neighbourhood. It was seconded by the Rev. R. S. ASHTON, and carried with loud applause. The Rev. A. H. BYLES responded, and the business of the sessions was brought to a close.

In the afternoon the Rev. H. SIMONS, of London, conducted a service for children in East-parade Chapel, and in the evening the Rev. Samuel Martin preached in Headingley-hill Congregational Church, to a crowded congregation, from Romans xii. 9, "Cleave to that which is good." The sermon was characterised throughout by that beauty of language and power of affectionate appeal for which the reverend gentleman is so justly celebrated, and was listened to with the deepest attention. After pointing out that God is emphatically good as well as the fountain of all good, and that in Jesus Christ He has given us the great Divine yet human pattern for our imitation, Mr. Martin proceeded to exhort his hearers to cleave manfully and prayerfully to everything that is good, employing the Word of God as the great test to ascertain whether, in this world of false though often beautiful appearances, it was intrinsically good or not. He concluded by showing some of the dangers that rendered this and similar texts so necessary and loving on God's part, and urged upon England's youth generally the supreme importance of clinging to the Bible and accepting the great truths of the glorious Gospel in this age of human speculation and wide-spread scepticism.

THE CONVERSATIONS.

In the evening there was a *conversation* at the Town Hall. The *Leeds Mercury* says, for the entertainment of their guests, who numbered upwards of 2,000, and included members of every denomination in the town, the committee had provided a programme which was as complete as the manner in which it was carried out was satisfactory. A large awning had been fixed at the Calverley-street entrance to the hall to ensure the comfort of the visitors on their arrival. Through the kindness of the Mayor (T. W. George, Esq.), the various apartments of interest to strangers, the Mayor's rooms, the Council-chamber, &c., were thrown open to inspection. The Victoria Hall was devoted to a promenade, and during the evening a programme of sacred music was performed by a united choir from the various Congregational places of worship in the town, conducted by Mr. J. H. Walker. Additional interest was imparted to the musical portion of the evening by the performance on the grand organ by Dr. Spark. During the evening refreshments were served in the Law Library, the arduous duties at the tables being voluntarily undertaken by the ladies connected with the different congregations.

In the interval between the first and second parts of the musical programme, the guests adjourned to the Civil Court, where the Rev. J. HUGHES MORGAN read a paper on "The History of Congregationalism at Leeds," which was frequently applauded. The Rev. JOHN SIBREE, Coventry, in an interesting speech, proposed that a vote of thanks should be awarded to Mr. Morgan for his valuable paper. Mr. W. E. GLYDE seconded the motion, and it was supported by the Rev. R. S. ASHTON (London). The resolution was adopted unanimously.

THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

On Friday the autumnal session was brought to a close by a public breakfast to the Board of Education, at the Queen's Hotel, Leeds. There were about 250 ministers and gentlemen present. Mr. Samuel Morley occupied the chair.

The Rev. Dr. UNWIN read a report, which stated that it was desirable to give a practical character to the meeting, and to seek to awaken a new interest in the matter of elementary education. The document went on to describe the alterations in the constitution of the board which had become necessary, because of the altered conditions on which Government educational grants were made, and stated that Mr. Matthew Arnold had just inspected Homerton College, and though his report had not yet been received, there was no doubt that the work of the last twenty years would be endorsed by competent authority. The college was free from debt, but the time had come when considerable expense would be necessary in keeping up preparatory classes, if Government did not recognise them.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the great pleasure he had in attending these meetings in Leeds. There had been some of the most manly utterances during the week that he had ever listened to, and he never felt stronger than he did then in their great principles. Having relinquished the position they had held earnestly and faithfully for more than twenty-five years, and having seen ample ground for a material alteration in that position, he felt that he stood now in the capacity of a learner. He was not for at all relinquishing his attachment to the great principle that religious supervision must always have to do with a system of education for the people; and yet in accepting the position that the great want of the people was a good sound secular education he wished not to be misunderstood. So far as their denominational schools were concerned, they must be religious. They did not want any dogmatic teaching; they did not seek to make it apply in any other way than conscience might lead to. He should be very thankful to see every man an Independent, but he would leave people to decide for themselves. In none of the Congregational schools did they seek to strengthen their position by education merely. There were friends of education in some parts of the country who were exposed to such competition that some aid from the State must really be looked to by them. He should have been glad to sacrifice money, and to induce others to do the same, and to hold their present ground after a fashion; but he wanted to do more than that. He wanted to see Congregationalism a power among the people religiously and socially; but in so doing they must take a ground consistent with high principle. He hoped on this occasion discussion about the future would be avoided. Let them look most to their present position, and not be entirely occupied with speculations as to the future. Whatever might come in the future, they must recognise the present system as far as it went. The Government had done as much as it could, and henceforth state pay would be given to secular teaching. They said, "We will inspect your schools and ascertain the results"; and he (the chairman) agreed with the revised code in that respect with all his heart. The Government said, "Prove that you are giving good teaching, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and then deal with your children religiously as you think fit." That would be a great advance in the position of Dissenters; but he was prepared to recommend some supplement, for in London something immense was required, and there were destitute districts in all parts of the country, and let there be, in addition, secular schools. (Hear.) He had not great faith in corporations in superintending this matter, for he did not think that members of town councils generally were the people to whom he would commit the education of the people. That was quite a moot point. He was a thorough believer in local government, but all the mischief resulting from it must lay at the door of those who choose the re-

presentatives. The leaders of these matters in the House of Commons, he believed, were honestly desirous to meet the fair requirements of all classes, and he had great hope that something might be sketched out, which if not as large and liberal and satisfactory as some minds might hope, still would be an advance in the direction which might possibly lead to some scheme at the right time that would be either national or more comprehensive than the existing one. The Privy Council, the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord R. Montagu had shown every disposition to meet the Independents, by placing all on an equality; the leaders on the other side were equally clear in that way; and though they could hardly wish to see any large body of Congregationalists taking precisely the same ground, he hoped all might be able to see in these proposals an equal degree of progress, which would be regarded as the ground that all might take in common. (Applause.)

Mr. BAINES, M.P., moved:—

That this meeting, while thankfully acknowledging the services rendered by the Congregational Union Board of Education during the past twenty-five years, cherishes the expectation that the changes recently made in its constitution will largely extend its usefulness, and earnestly appeals for more general co-operation and pecuniary support, so that Congregationalism may take a proper and full share in the education of the people.

(Applause.) He said, in supporting their admirable college at Homerton, nothing could be further from their view than any merely sectarian object. What they wanted was to give the pupils there a good and pious training and education. They did not want to preach a creed, but a Gospel. (Applause.) Their position never was very different from what it was twelve months ago. The Government had pronounced in favour of a system of absolute impartiality—a system not exclusively bound up with religious instruction, but would impartially give aid to those friends of education who could produce the results of a good secular instruction. He quite understood in that light Mr. Gladstone's address to his own constituents. He did there, indeed, declare that he was himself favourable to the religious training of the people, but he declared for two important things—firstly, for an effectual conscience clause to accompany every grant of public money, so that no child might be compelled to be educated in religious principles differing from those of his parent or guardian; and in the next place he declared that the State must be held free from all responsibility for the religious part of that education. Therefore, he (Mr. Baines) thought they might say now with perfect truth, that so far—not, indeed, as legislation had gone—but so far as the wishes and public declarations of the great parties in the State were concerned, they were favourable to a system of which this Board of Education could approve, and therefore they now accepted the aid which the State granted to education, and in so doing it was assumed there would be no interference with conscience or with any religious instruction they might think it their duty to give. (Applause.) They were placed in the position that the State equally gave aid and countenance to those friends who still maintained the purely voluntary system, and to those who consented to the acceptance of State aid. There was no preference at Homerton College to the one over the other. Teachers for voluntary schools would be received there just as freely as those who were intended for schools which received State aid. Therefore he thought they might claim the general support of the Congregational body when they asked for aid to Homerton College, and to the educational board by which it was sustained. (Applause.) But he declared his solemn conviction that it would be wrong as well as ruin for them to seek to discharge the religious element from the education of the people. (Applause.) They ought not to insist upon religious education, but a system of perfect impartiality should be adopted, and if the united efforts of the various religious bodies should fail to meet the wants of the community, the power should be given to boroughs and parishes to supplement what at present it was meant to do. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Dr. CAMPBELL, of Bradford, seconded the motion, and said that looking at secular education as merely education in common things, and denominational education as the education of the people in religion, they were perfectly at liberty to adopt the plan of mingling the two. He could not conceive the possibility of the denominational system in England being removed or even interfered with—(cheers)—and he believed the "disestablishment" of that system was just as hopeless as the disestablishment of the Irish Church was hopeful at the present time. (Applause.) Looking at the matter practically, let them be prepared to go forward in carrying out their religious education, while the State concerned itself with the proper secular education of the people, employing religionists or non-religionists in doing that work, and taking care that that work was done, and that work only was paid for. (Hear, hear.) That the State could control, but it had no right to control religious teaching. He thought denominational teaching should be increased rather than otherwise, and that its agency could never be superseded. (Applause.)

The Rev. ANDREW REED next proposed the following:—

That this meeting, attaching the highest importance to the Christian character and earnest devotedness of those who are charged with the education of the young, appeals to the ministers and members of Congregational Churches, to enlist the services of young persons of decided piety and suitable mental endowments, who are likely after an adequate course of training to become efficient teachers.

The Rev. F. SODEN seconded the resolution in a speech in which he deprecated the adoption of any purely secular system of education; pointed to Prussia and America in illustration of the evil results of the education of the young being divorced from

religion; and spoke highly of the method of training pursued at Homerton College.

The Rev. E. R. CONDER, in supporting the resolution, dwelt upon the fact that the calling of a teacher, like that of a minister, was of Divine ordination, and that, however circumstances might change, thoroughly qualified persons for the training of the young would always be required. It was probable that whenever the disestablishment of the Church of England came to be discussed and carried out, it would bring with it changes in regard to denominations and the modes of religious organisations, but the teaching of the young would remain the same, and the men and women who were trained at a religious institution like Homerton College, would, twenty or thirty years hence, as wise and pious and Christian teachers, be a power in the work of education.

Mr. H. LEE, of Manchester, said religion should pervade all the affairs of life, and they should teach the working man that the principles of justice were the principles of religious, as of secular knowledge, and that, if children were taught secular knowledge, it would not be conveyed, unless it was conveyed in some way or other in connection with religious instruction. There were many organisations in this country for the purpose exclusively of making known the great principles to be found in the Word of God, which lay at the basis of all human conduct, and such organisations, if they exerted their power, would be sufficient to permeate the working classes with a knowledge of religious truth. Some one had said that they had seen the evils of secular schools in America. He had been in thirty or forty of these schools, and he had never been hindered there from speaking on religious topics to the children, so that while theoretically they were secular schools, practically they were not so. (Hear, hear.) He advocated a national system of education on the grounds that it would be easily worked, and that it would command the unreserved attachment of the working classes, who were now the depositaries of political power. He was well acquainted with the men in his employ; and his daily contact with them had shown him that, whilst they possessed great genius, intelligence, and intellectual powers, there was amongst them a vast amount of ignorance. (Hear, hear.) They must endeavour to convince the working classes that a secular education was not synonymous with an irreligious one. (Hear, hear.) He concluded by saying that he should now support Homerton College with all his heart, because it was going in the right direction. (Cheers.)

After the Rev. Mr. JUKES, and the Rev. Mr. M'CALLUM, of Glasgow, had also addressed the meeting, the second resolution was carried, and on the motion of Mr. BAINES, M.P., seconded by Mr. TITUS SALT, a vote of thanks was passed to the chairman.

Mr. MORLEY, in acknowledging the compliment, advised the members of the denomination with all possible earnestness, that whilst they should not throw any impediment except such as their reason, conscience, and judgment might dictate in the way of legislation, they should maintain as high a position as possible as to the character of their teachers; and that, going to the Government only and receiving money only for secular education, they should aim to get men and women with as much religious conscience as they could in their schools. (Applause.) They were all undergoing an educational process on this very question of education—(Hear, hear)—and he was anxious to take his share any where, either in Parliament—(cheers)—or without, in really securing for the masses of the people just that education and that liberty which he believed every Englishman was entitled to. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings were then brought to a close.

LECTURES TO WORKING MEN.

On Wednesday evening the Rev. G. W. CONDER, formerly of Leeds, but now of Manchester, delivered a lecture to working men, in the Corn Exchange, in connection with the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. In addition to Mr. J. Law, the Mayor of Bradford, who presided, there were on the platform the Rev. Dr. Raleigh, the chairman of the Union meeting, and a number of the ministers and delegates. The subject of the lecture was "The relation of working men to the national future." In the concluding portion Mr. Conder said:—

He wished to speak on one more point, which, to him, was the most important of all—they would readily understand that he meant religion. After urging in a most earnest and eloquent manner the value of religion, he said that the one thing which he sought to impress upon them was this: the complexion of England's future was largely in their hands, the bulk of its force was theirs already. Whether that force, destined to immense expansion, yet should be a blessing to all, or otherwise, depended on whether it should be a cultured and a self-governed force; and that depended on themselves. (Loud applause.) Might God in His mercy give them grace so to use their power that England might be for centuries yet, not the mistress, but the mother of the world! (Renewed applause.) He could not but account it a most happy thing, he would say, a most providential thing, that just at the time when their power was most formidable, and when they were invited to that political exercise of it from which they had so long and unjustly debarred—(loud cheers)—changes should be taking place in another direction which could not but issue in great religious changes for the better. The spirit of freedom and of justice which was brooding over the world just now had shaken to their foundations some institutions more venerable by age and association than by their inherent worth, and in a few years this great Christianity would have ceased to come to them with a creed in one hand and a State penalty in the other. (Loud applause.) Stripped of the garb of authority and the mien of courtly pride, it would approach then with no force but that of persuasion, and no attractions but

its own native beauty and worth. (Loud cheers.) How far that change might necessitate others in the whole of the religious community, it was of course impossible to guess; but he for one was confident that the effect would be very great and very beneficial on the whole of the religious sects. (Hear, hear.) He was strongly hopeful that out of these changes might be born a church which would compel by a loving compulsion into her bosom. (Hear, hear.) If not, then her sun would set in cloud, if not in storm and tempest. But why not! Had they no inner spirit that wanted God? Had they no interest in what lies on the other side of the grave? Had they no heart that they could fill with life streams from the heart of God? Had they nothing to thank God for—nothing to ask him for? Would they die as a felled tree to the ground, only to rot and make new soil! Was the great universe nothing to them but a mighty painted cage within whose gilded bars they might fritter their life away, and from which there was no open gate through which they might fly to a land of freedom and of everlasting life and joy? He knew not how their great heart might be disposed to answer these questions now, but this he knew—they ought to answer them with an indignant scorn and with a manly shame, and rise up and stand before the great God and say, We are all children of the one Father, and we will claim a share in His love. (The rev. gentleman concluded his eloquent lecture amid loud and prolonged applause.)

A lecture to working men was delivered in Salem Lecture Hall, by the Rev. G. M. MURPHY, of London, who was attending the meetings of the Congregational Union, on Thursday, under the presidency of the Rev. H. Tarrant. The lecturer gave a very lucid exposition of Congregational principles and labours. He said: Our church is a democracy; we have power to do our work without any interference. We are Independents—that is, independent of any external control by a Conference like the Methodists; our Congregational Union makes no laws. We are Non-conformists—called so because we refuse to conform to the Church by law established. We are Dissenters—that is, we differ from many of the practices of the Church, especially in the appointment of bishops and archbishops. We are Voluntaries—we do not believe in any other body being taxed to pay for our religion. (Great applause.) We are called Puritans, because we believe in purity of church-membership. Here the lecturer eloquently referred to the origin and progress of Puritan New England, to the sufferings of Defoe, Milton, and other worthies, in defence of liberty and truth. We are Christians—then followed an able vindication of Christianity from the attacks of infidelity, and a glowing description of its blessings in the present and hopes for the future. The lecture was illustrated by many striking facts in relation to Christianity and the working classes, and was very heartily applauded by a very large audience of working men.

THE BAPTIST UNION.

The session of the Baptist Union commenced on Wednesday. In the morning a prayer-meeting was held at Broadmead Chapel, when an address was delivered by the Rev. JAMES MARTIN, of Nottingham.

In the forenoon the session of the Union was commenced at Old King-street Chapel, when there was a large attendance. The body of the chapel was reserved for the delegates, while the galleries were thrown open to the public, and were thronged to excess. The devotional service which preceded the business portion of the conference was conducted by the Rev. Dr. E. Steane. The 99th Psalm, commencing, "Jesus, the Saviour, reigns," having been sung, Dr. STEANE read part of the 1st chapter of the Book of Revelation. The Rev. Mr. DENNETT, of Greenwich, then offered prayer, after which the last two verses of the 13th hymn, 3rd book (Watts's), was sung. The Rev. J. HOBSON, of London, next offered prayer. The 191st hymn in the selection was subsequently sung, and the devotional service was brought to a termination by the Rev. J. H. HINTON offering prayer.

The Rev. F. W. GOTCH, LL.D., president of the Union, next took the chair, and proceeded to deliver the introductory address. After a cordial welcome, he reminded them that in April he addressed them on their relations as a denomination to other denominations and to the State; and now, he said, he intended to address them on what seemed to him of great importance at the present time to all denominations of Christians; though of course what he said would be taken from their own point of view. He might express his subject in the single phrase, "Christ the centre," or, in the language of the Apostle Paul, "Christ all and in all." Some of them might say that was an old familiar truth, and was the foundation of all their hopes. Thanks be to God, it was old, older than the everlasting hills, and more familiar than any other household word; but had they exhausted its meaning? Had they measured its breadth, length, depth, and height? He would not utter a trite panegyric on that truth, nor advise them how best in the ministry they might set it forth to their hearers; but there were aspects which to many of them were not familiar, and some of these were specially adapted to the present time. That was an age of great mental activity; for never in the history of the world, certainly never since the revival of learning and the Reformation, had the spirit of inquiry been so widely diffused. The results of the free inquiry seemed to be opposed to Christianity, and sometimes researches had been undertaken in avowed opposition to revelation in general.

Baptists themselves were charged with pushing liberty beyond its due limits into license, just in the same way that they were told they made the same charges against others, and not always without reason. Their one weapon of attack and defence was the truth, "Christ the centre." (Cheers.) He then went on to look at the power of the principle of Christ being the centre for repressing error and establishing truth. The freedom which characterised modern thought, he said, was an inestimable benefit to mankind for itself and its results; and every one who had the slightest tincture of literature would at once concede that. Modern investigations in all departments of human knowledge seemed at least, however, too frequently to be opposed to Christianity, and in not a few cases they were put forth in avowed opposition to it. He thought they would find placing at the centre Christ, they had an immovable standing place, and one from which they could not be shaken. First, it was feared critical investigation, especially adverse criticism, might undermine the authority of the sacred record. He showed the groundlessness of that fear, and then he considered a second fear—that the discoveries of physical science might discredit the Bible. He observed that the Christian religion had nothing to fear from the advance of scientific discovery; and then noticed a third objection—that metaphysical speculation might weaken or destroy the foundation on which the record rested; but he said this could not be the case if they held fast to the centre. Another thing to be feared was the boasted progress of the age in civilisation and virtue. Religion, it was said, accomplished its object when it made men live virtuous lives. Now, Christianity had accomplished that more than any other religion; but it was objected that the civilisation of the world had advanced while Christianity itself remained, and must remain, stationary. Much of the popular literature of the day seemed tacitly to admit such doctrines as that, and, while paying respect for the Bible, assumed a superiority over those trammelled by the teaching of the Bible. There Christ was the centre. The Christian religion did not teach virtue, however, but it taught godliness; was not to make men moral, but to make them holy; not to lead them to shun vices, but to deliver them from the wrath to come; not to make them just and good towards each other, but pure and holy in the sight of God. If they lowered that standard, they brought Christianity down to the level of mere secular teaching, and it was shorn of its strength. Their true and sufficient safeguard was Christ, the centre. But there were large sections of the church of Christ which seemed to hold that other safeguards were needed, and which shrunk with dread from the freedom of thought which Baptists advocated, as leading to a laxity of sentiment fatal to the progress, if not to the existence, of Christianity. The second portion of the address of the president consisted of a consideration of the sufficiency of the principles of Baptists in contrast to other safeguards against the supposed dangers of free inquiry. The first safeguard alluded to was the authoritative position of the Church as expressed in creeds and articles. But if the creed was provable by the Scriptures, what greater power had it than the Scriptures on which it rested? (Hear, hear.) And then, the articles of the Episcopal Church declared that the three creeds were thoroughly to be received and believed, for they might be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture; but on that principle, it was the Scripture, and not the creed, which was the safeguard. They gained no additional safeguard from creeds or articles unless they were authoritative, as the Romish Church declared them to be; but in the case of the Romish Church what authority had they? The other security which was maintained was to be derived from the State. But the State could furnish no security at all against freeing them from erroneous doctrines, except at the instance of the church; for it was clear it was the function of the church, and not of the secular power, to determine what was true doctrine and what was false. If the church sought its aid, the State might aid it in conferring privileges on those who agreed with the church, and in imposing penalties on those who did not agree with it. But it was in the State that the free thinking was, and not in the church; and relying on the State was relying on a broken reed. (Cheers.) The time was coming when privileges granted to one section must be at an end, unless public feeling be changed; and public feeling for disestablishment was advancing with wonderful rapidity. (Cheers.) Their principles, as Baptists, precluded them entertaining the question of an alliance with the State, whilst the principles of other denominations did not; but that had nothing to do with the general question of the propriety or otherwise upon which the alliance might be attacked or defended. The progress of thought in the Established Church itself seemed to have made an advance, and the Dean of Canterbury—Dean Alford—(loud cheers)—distinctly declared the conviction that the union of the Church with the State must cease—(loud cheers);—and as far as he could gather, his (the dean's) opinion was that the union as it existed was an encumbrance to religion—(cheers);—and that the severance of it would be an immense advantage. (Cheers.)

On the motion of the Rev. G. GOULD, of Norwich, seconded by the Rev. H. DOWSON, of Bury, a vote of thanks to the chairman was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. J. H. MILLARD, secretary, read the message of committee, which said:—

Heartily welcomed as we are by our brethren here, and rejoicing as we do to behold their prosperity and their zeal for God, we cannot but also call to remembrance the illustrious and venerated dead—that host of worthies who have here for generations carried on the work of God, and amongst whom were some who adorned our denomination, and advanced its interests.

a measure scarcely equalled, certainly not surpassed, in any other city of the world. To mention all of them would be a labour fatiguing at once to the memory and the ear; but who can forbear to recall the names of Edward Terrill, Bernard Foskett, the Evanses, the Giffords, and their successors, such as Ryland, Hall, Foster, Roberts, Winter, Probert, and last in the series, Thomas Steffe Crisp, for half a century the minister of Broadmead, and for more than forty years the president of the college in this city. Truly, brethren, we are "compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses," whose example cannot but inspire us to attempt and to expect yet greater things in the cause they so nobly served. We feel, too, that we stand to-day on the classic ground of our denomination, because of our eldest "school of the prophets" so long established here; a school which has ever taught true doctrine, and aimed to send forth its students well instructed in the wisdom of winning souls. And we particularly rejoice that our visit to this city has fallen at so appropriate a time, when one so universally beloved and revered as the president of this college is also the chairman of the Union. It is a privilege to hold our autumnal session in the presence of Christian brethren, who are not only citizens of so distinguished a city as Bristol, but whose praise is in all the churches for their zeal and liberality in the cause of Christ, so that in no town of the empire are the interests dearer to our hearts more worthily represented than here. The times passing over us, brethren, are such as to awaken prayerful solicitude in all devout minds, and to demand that our deliberations should be conducted in a specially serious and earnest spirit. Great opportunities for denominational extension are offering on every side, and great dangers beset us from the daily multiplying influences hostile to purity of faith, and to the vigour of our spiritual life. We need ever to be on our watch-tower, at once observant of events, and fervently seeking the help and wisdom which come down from the Father of lights.

The Rev. J. P. CHOWN, of Bradford, moved that Dr. Brock, of London, be requested to accept the office of president for the ensuing year. Mr. J. Harvey, of London, seconded the resolution, and it was adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Brock could not give a definite answer then; but he would treat the request which had been made with all the respect it deserved, and would send Mr. Millard an answer.

THE CAUSES OF MINISTERIAL FAILURE.

The Rev. W. LANDELS, D.D., of Regent's Park, London, next read a paper on the causes of ministerial failure, which excited much cheering and laughter. He glanced at the use or disuse of written sermons read in the pulpit, but did not think this had anything to do with the failure of a minister. He made some pertinent remarks on college training, and said that they must recollect that the tutors there could draw out, but could not create; they could not furnish the manufactured article unless they were supplied with the raw material. (Cheers.) If they sent in the proper material they would have the proper man sent out; but if they sent in a young sprig they might polish him, but the more they polished the worse he became, as all of the man came off in the process, and the residuum was what was significantly called "a parson"—(loud laughter)—one who assumed great airs and talked in the sanctimonious manner of his class, who, in the words of the late Robinson,

Forgot the dung-hill where he grew,
And thinks himself the Lord knows who—

(much laughter)—neither a born minister nor a grace made minister. (Hear, hear.) Methods of training were not without great value, however, but they might inquire if the system of education pursued at most, if not all, their colleges were the best adopted; whether the course of study should not have a more direct bearing on the work. Their aim should be more to make preachers and pastors, and not to make scholars. Scholarship did not mean necessarily preaching ability. The main causes of ministerial failure were infirmity of temper; an overweening conceit and undue love of authority, self-indulgent habits, indolence, lack of earnestness, and, lastly, and the main cause of failure, was the insufficient quantity of being in the man. Preachers failed because they were not great men. One remedy for the failure of ministers, he believed, would be to render the entrance to the ministry somewhat more difficult than at present. He suggested that the friends of students should support them during their educational career, and that, instead of several small colleges where young men were boarded and lodged, there might be one or two large halls. But the great remedy for ministerial failure was to have such an improved spiritual life in the churches as should lead them to look at the ministry of the Word as the most important vocation man could fill, and which would lead them to consecrate to it their noblest sons. (Cheers.)

The Rev. C. M. BIRRELL, of Liverpool, opened the discussion on the paper of Dr. Landels, and he said he thought that ministry was successful which answered the end God designed it to answer; and therefore it was not proper for one man to envy his brother, nor for another to despise his brother; neither was it right for any one of them to murmur against the Master for sending him to do what was obscure and did not tend to fame. He thought the most powerful of all the causes of failure was unreality; whereas, on the other hand, if a man in the pulpit had the accent of conviction, he had that which no imitation could produce, and which, when present, was never, by the most ignorant of his hearers, mistaken. (Hear, hear.) Let them, then, have the accent of conviction; and they would have it if they had conviction, and if they were what they said they were; and if they were in alliance with God, as they assumed they were, God should bless

them, and he felt persuaded that though they did want men of first-rate ability, their blessed Master had something to do for men of very humble ability; and a man of second-rate ability, if his devotedness were first-rate, would have first-rate success. (Cheers.) In conclusion, the speaker moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Landels for his very able paper.

The Rev. S. GREEN, sen., seconded the resolution. The Rev. Dr. STANLEY said there was not a greater desideratum in their body than a thoroughly well-selected, profound, and good theological faculty instituted in connection with their schools, that should consist of some half-dozen professors. He asked if they could not remedy what had been noticed, the impossibility of a minister meeting the requirements of all his hearers, and he thought this difficulty could be met by the Congregationalist and Baptist ministers of a city exchanging pulpits occasionally, and then congregations would have an opportunity of hearing ministers of different attainments.

The Rev. J. MURSELL, of Kettering, advised that greater care should be taken in preparing sermons for the pulpit, and he considered that more stress should be laid on expository preaching than was done. He wondered if ministers would get a little more time to do their own work, instead of being here and there and everywhere to do all the work of the public. He did not know where the remedy for that was to be found, but they might concentrate their energy as much as possible. The Rev. Mr. TUCKWELL, of Appledore, did not think the entrance to the ministry should be made more difficult; and he was of opinion when a minister committed a fault it should not be known outside his own church. Mr. JENKINS, who spoke in a low voice, advocated a greater spirit of charity towards other denominations. The Rev. Dr. STROCK, of Devonport, deprecated ministers spending their time on newspaper articles and mere literary work, and urged them to devote their energies to their own solemn duties. The Rev. Mr. PRICE, of Abersychan, referring to ministerial failures, said he had been for twenty-five years secretary of a Welsh college, and failures there had been few in comparison with those in England. (Laughter.) The Welsh believed no young men was fit to be admitted to a college till he had preached for some time, whereas in England young men had no opportunity of preaching till they had become students. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution of a vote of thanks to Dr. Landels was then put and carried unanimously.

The doxology was sung, and the sitting then terminated.

In the afternoon the delegates dined at the Victoria Rooms. Dr. Gotch presided, and after the meal gave the health of the Queen, which was drunk enthusiastically.

THE SOIREE.

The evening *soiree* was held at Colston's Hall, and was well attended, the spacious rooms being filled in every part. The Rev. W. Brock, D.D., Bloomsbury Chapel, occupied the chair, and he was supported upon the platform by a large number of the leading ministers of the Baptist body then in Bristol. The proceedings having been opened with devotional exercises,

The CHAIRMAN in the course of his speech read copious extracts from the "Broadmead Record," which gives an account of the sufferings endured and the persecutions undergone by the earlier Baptists in this city. He hoped that the members of the denomination in the present day would keep the great principles adhered to with such constancy by their forefathers unsullied in lustre and undiminished in power. The old Baptists were faithful in adversity, and he exhorted his hearers to be faithful in prosperity. (Cheers.)

The Rev. C. VINCE, of Birmingham, then spoke on the subject of the Irish Church. He said that some of their friends here and there seemed to be forgetting their own principles, and in the crusade against the Irish Church, that outrage upon all religious polity and justice, which, built up by British power, and defended by British bayonets, had overshadowed the land of Ireland for nearly three centuries—in this crusade against the Irish Church some of their friends lacked the heartiness, the confidence, the determination, the freedom from all fear about the issues, which they would possess if they fully appreciated the fact that it was not a question of what political expediency might dictate, but a question of what was required by the teaching and principles of religion.

The supporters of the Irish Church played a two-fold part with them. Sometimes they tried them with temptations, and sometimes they pelted them with hard names. Sometimes they appealed to their Protestant sympathies, or rather to their Protestant antipathies, and thus tried to enlist them to fight upon their side in defence of the Irish Church. At other times they would almost overwhelm them with a perfect hurricane of invective. They were told they were short-sighted fanatics; that they were playing into the hands of their enemies; and that they were leagued with infidels, atheists, Ritualists, and Romanists. There was one thing that would make them resist the temptations of their opponents and bear all their invectives and comments, and that was that they saw more and more that it was a question of "What saith the Scripture?"—(Hear, hear.)—and that they ought to be labouring, not for the victory of any political party, but the triumph of a great Christian principle. He said they wanted it to be understood that the reason they moved against the Irish State Church was because they were hostile to all political establishments of religion. (Applause.) State establishments might continue to exist under very different circumstances; they might be set up by the legitimate and popular political power of the country, as he thought was the case in England when Protestantism was established by Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, or they might be set up by a conquering power, as was the case when Protestantism was established in Ireland.

They believed, however, that every State Church establishment of religion involved more or less the introduction of the element of physical force into a religion where the power of argument and the force of persuasion should alone prevail. (Hear, hear.) More or less every State establishment tended to persecution; the history of every State establishment was more or less a history of persecution and suffering for conscience' sake. They believed that every State establishment of religion was a practical violation of the rights of, and infringement upon, the prerogatives of the Great Head of the Church Himself. The rev. gentleman then went on to refer to the address issued by the Premier to his constituents on the subject of the Irish Church. The Prime Minister, he said, laid great stress upon the rival claims of two different visible heads of the Church, and he put the matter as if the issue were a question of having for the head of the Church the Pope of Rome or the monarch of this country. There they joined issue with Mr. Disraeli. They said that was not the only alternative, and when he said, "Which will you have to be the head of the Church—the Pope of Rome or the monarch of your own country?" they said, "Neither of them." (Loud applause, which was continued for some time.) There was but one Head of the Church—not chosen of man, but of God—He who bought the Church with His blood—the Lord Jesus. Mr. Disraeli spoke as if the making the monarch of the land the head of the Church was the crown of glory of the Reformation. They contended that that was just where the Reformation limped and halted; if the Reformation had been completed it would not have been the substitution of a political Prince for a Roman Bishop, but it would have been the sweeping away of all visible heads of the Church, and the recognition of the Saviour as the Head. The Premier seemed to think that the great fountain and conservator of religious freedom in our country was to be found in this making the monarch the head of the Church, instead of the Pope; and they were asked to defend this principle if they would retain their spiritual freedom. Now, as he read the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he was disposed to put it in a new light, and say that they had their religious freedom despite that they made the monarch of the land the head of the Church. He contended that they had spiritual freedom because the people of England were determined to have it, and were so determined that when any monarch stood in the way of it, like Charles I. and James II., they could take the monarch and put him away. He sarcastically commented upon the assertion that the King was the great bulwark of freedom. Some men found that so far as their personal freedom was concerned a change from the Pope to Henry did not much improve their prospects. It would be false to say that the change was out of the frying-pan into the fire; it would be true to say that the change was only clambering out of the fire into the frying-pan—(great laughter)—and there were some who found that the Tudor frying-pan was as effectual for martyrdom as any fire of the Pope of Rome. (Applause.) Who was the head of the Church, he asked, when the Pilgrim Fathers left their own country for an unknown land? Who was the head of the Church when thousands in the reign of Charles II. languished and died in the dungeons of England for nothing but for their fidelity to conscience and to what they believed to be the cause of God and truth? Who was the head of the Church when godly men and women had to skulk behind bushes and carry on their worship of the Lord by all manner of contrivances? And who was at the head of the Church when John Bunyan was put into gaol? (Applause.) He alluded to the exclusion of Nonconformists from civic and governmental offices, and said it was only very recently that they had conceded to them the right of celebrating their marriages in their own places of worship. The guarantee for religious freedom was to be found in this: the State must not make itself a special partisan of any Church whatever. He would say to every church or denomination, "You must not be allowed to touch the sword of the State or wield its terrors to worry and harass the members of sister churches," and then he thought there would be a perfect guarantee for spiritual freedom. He should not have dwelt so much upon this subject if the Prime Minister had not thrust it so prominently before them. There was an hereditary monarchy. It might happen that the heir to the throne might not possess the qualifications to be a great King, still less to be the head of Christ's Church in this land. (Cheers.) He did not think religion was greatly honoured by having Charles II. at the head of the Church; it was not a great comfort to him to remember that George IV. was the head of the Church. (Hear, hear.) The Prince of Wales would be the next King of England; long, long distant be the day. (Loud cheers, and a voice: "Three cheers for the Queen," and the request was loyally and heartily complied with.) Well now, in anticipation of his prospective headship of the Church, when their hearts trembled for the ark of God they could say: "Rest thee still, thou troubled heart, the Prince of Wales will be the head of the Church some day; thou knowest his deep interest in all theological questions—(laughter)—thou art acquainted with his lofty reputation for personal sanctity. (Renewed laughter.) What a shelter he will be for the Church of Christ when he commences to be the head of it!" (Laughter.) After some further remarks on the godliness of some of the monarchical heads of the Church, he went on to contend that Christ's Church was a spiritual community, having no head but its own invisible and ever-present Lord.

In conclusion, he urged his auditors to take up the question upon great Christian principles, and to take it out of the region of mere political expediency. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. S. G. GREEN, B.A., President of Rawdon College, next addressed the meeting in an able address, and in the course of his remarks observed that it might be a subject for consideration whether in some places there were not too many separate Baptist churches, which stunted and impoverished each other, and that whilst in some places there were too many churches, in others there too few; in the former instance the ground was incumbered, whilst in the latter the land was not possessed—(Hear, hear.)—and a question for every Church to answer should be—could they justify a separate existence? (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. H. DOWSON, President of the Theological Institution, Bury, followed in a speech upon the

* We may state that the above paper, as well as that of the chairman, are published in a separate and cheap form by Mr. Elliot Stock, of Paternoster-row.

subject of lay preaching. By lay preachers he understood those brethren in their churches who had the gift of speaking about Christ, and who devoted a portion or the whole of the Sabbath to the work of preaching the Gospel, and he rejoiced that there was nothing in their ecclesiastical constitution, nothing in their church economy, which forbade the use of that instrumentality. They gave full freedom of speech to all their brethren, and shut no man's mouth except when he talked nonsense; for he was one who did not think that any man could be made a preacher by spiritual manipulation. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. P. CHOWN, of Bradford, who was enthusiastically received, delivered an earnest and eloquent address upon the Sunday School question, and the proceedings terminated with the singing of the doxology.

SECOND SESSION.

On Thursday, in the morning, there was a service at the City-road Chapel, when the Rev. W. T. Rosevear preached. The session resumed its sitting at ten o'clock in the Baptist chapel, Old King-street, and there was again a very large attendance both of delegates and of the public. The sessional business was prefaced by devotional exercises, over which the Rev. J. Leechman, LL.D., of Bath, presided. The Rev. Dr. Gutch then took the chair.

BRISTOL BAPTIST COLLEGE.

The Rev. F. BOSWORTH, M.A., of Weston-super-Mare, then read a paper on the "Baptist College, Bristol—its history, treasures, and celebrities." He said no sooner were the Universities closed to Non-conformists in 1662, than their brethren, many of whom had been educated at Oxford and Cambridge, felt themselves compelled to turn their attention towards the education of young men of the ministry. In a general assembly held in 1689, in which more than a hundred churches were represented, it was resolved to raise a fund, one object of which was to assist members of churches who had promising gifts and inclined to study in attaining a knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Four months after that meeting the friends at Plymouth sent a contribution to the fund, and recommended that a young man, Mr. Richard Sampson, should be assisted in his study. He was the first Baptist student ever educated in Bristol. The students, he stated, were first taught in a house in Barr's-street; and subsequently premises were taken for the college in North-street. In 1805 the land on which the present college stands was purchased; in August, 1806, the foundation-stone was laid; but it was not until 1811 the building was fit for use. He then proceeded to speak of the valuable contents of the library and museum, and said the gem of the institution was one of the few authentic likenesses of Cromwell, for which portrait the Empress Catherine of Russia had offered 500 guineas. There was an old manuscript copy of Wycliffe's translation of the Gospels; a copy of the first edition of "Paradise Lost," supposed to have been Milton's own copy; and Bunyan's Concordance, one of the two books he had in gaol with him when he wrote "Pilgrim's Progress." The rev. gentleman then referred to some of the principal Baptist ministers who had been connected with the college, and read some interesting extracts from the minute-book of the committee.

The Rev. J. H. HINTON proposed,—

That the thanks of this Union be presented to the Rev. F. Bosworth, M.A., for his interesting paper, and that he be requested to place it at the disposal of the committee for publication.

The Rev. Dr. STANE seconded the proposition, which was carried.

PASTORS' AID FUND.

The next business was the report of the committee on the Sustentation Fund, by the Rev. CHARLES WILLIAMS, of Southampton. The report was as follows:—

The sub-committee appointed to prepare resolutions on the subject of a Pastors' Income Augmentation Fund, met at the Mission-house, on September 15th, and unanimously agreed to recommend the committee to submit the following propositions for discussion to the autumnal session of the Union:—I. That, in the judgment of the Union, the time has come for the establishment of a fund for aiding the poorer churches to increase their pastors' incomes. II. That this fund be organised and distributed by the committee of the Union through the associations. III. That the following be the general rules of the fund, each association to be at liberty to make its own by-laws:—1. That the object of the fund be, to assist churches of the Baptist denomination to provide an honourable maintenance for their pastors. 2. That the fund be raised by annual subscriptions of not less than 1l. 1s. from individuals, and by annual collections or contributions from churches of not less than 10l. 3. That the committees for the time being of the several associations of Baptist churches be auxiliaries, for the purposes of this fund, to the committee of the Union. 4. That the Union and the associations keep a separate account of this fund, which shall be separately audited. 5. That the association committees be empowered to decide what churches within their own limits shall be admitted to participation in the fund; but that, in the event of an association committee pronouncing any church (being a member of the fund) unworthy of receiving further aid, there shall be a right of appeal to the annual meeting of subscribers. 6. That the committees of the associations, or, in districts destitute of associations, the committee of the Union, may appoint a deputation, consisting of one minister and one deacon, to inquire into any case submitted to their consideration. 7. That the annual income of the fund be distributed equally among all the subscribing churches whose pastors' incomes are less than 150l. per annum, and that the committees be charged with the duty of ascertaining that the fund secures a real augmentation of the incomes of our pastors. 8. That a report of the fund, with a balance-sheet duly audited, be presented at an annual meeting of the subscribers, to be held during the autumnal

session of the Union. The sub-committee further recommend that the resolutions to be submitted to the Union be printed and circulated among the ministers and delegates at least one day before the discussion is taken on them.

The Rev. C. WILLIAMS, in moving the first resolution—

That in the judgment of the Union the time has come for the establishment of a fund for aiding the poorer churches to increase their pastors' incomes—

gave some interesting statistics respecting the salaries of Baptist ministers. He said in four counties in Wales there were 140 ministers, twelve of whom received more, and 128 less, than 100l. per annum, the average income in this latter class being 48l. per year. England paid her pastors better. In seventeen counties ninety-seven pastors received more, and 124 less than 100l. per year, the average incomes of the 124 being 62l. He had no doubt that the average incomes of the English pastors was 70l. per annum. In these returns their large towns and wealthy counties were not included, but, taking the whole of the denomination, he believed it would be found that one-fifth of their English ministers were in receipt of more than 150l.; one-fifth from 150l. to 100l., and about three-fifths averaged, he should think, from 70l. to 80l. per year. The practical question before them was—Would one-fifth of their churches assist their poorer churches in providing a sufficient maintenance for their pastors? He referred to the objections urged to the scheme. He argued in favour of a union of rural churches under one pastor, as it would not only reduce the number of their poor pastors, but increase the power of their denomination. It was never so important as now that they should maintain and strengthen their village churches, for their village churches constituted the weak point in the Independent and Baptist denominations. The Cheddar church was a model for all their villages.

The Rev. S. H. BOOTH, of London, seconded the motion.

A very long discussion took place, and many amendments were moved. The resolution was finally agreed to in the following form:—

That, in the judgment of this Union, the time has come for taking practical steps to assist churches of the Baptist denomination in providing a more adequate and respectable maintenance for their pastors.

Mr. S. R. PATTISON moved the second resolution, in the following amended terms:—

That this fund be organised and distributed by the committee of the Union through the associations, and that the committee request a conference with the managers of the London, Bristol, and other funds which aid pastors, with the view of co-operating, if possible, with them in the labour of love.

The Rev. Dr. HOBY seconded the proposition, but suggestions were made by ministers present, and the resolution ran thus:—

That the committee request a conference with the managers of the London, Bristol, and other funds which aid pastors and churches of the Baptist denomination in supporting their pastors, with a view of co-operating, if possible, with them in this labour of love, and that the income of any fund which might be employed for this purpose be distributed by the committee of the union through the association.

The Rev. Mr. ROOKE wished to have the grouping system coupled with the sustentation fund. He moved as an amendment,—

That the practical steps spoken of in the last resolution be taken in strict connection with the scheme for grouping the smaller churches.

He said the average income of the ministers in his district was 38l. The Rev. Mr. HUMPHRIES seconded the amendment, which was at first added to the resolution, but at length withdrawn. After some discussion, the resolution was eventually passed in the following form:—

That the committee be instructed to confer with the managers of the London, Bristol, and any other funds which aid pastors or churches of the Baptist denomination in supporting their pastors, with a view to co-operate, if possible, with them in this labour of love, and that the income of any fund which might be employed for this purpose be distributed by the committee of the Union through the associations.

The Rev. Mr. ROOKE moved, and the Rev. Mr. HUMPHRIES, of Wellington, seconded a resolution, which, after a great deal of discussion, was put in the following terms:—

That the grouping of small churches be strongly recommended to the consideration of the committee of the Union and the associations in connection with the distribution of such funds.

It was carried; an amendment, moved by Dr. PRICE, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. JONES, that the debate should be adjourned until the meeting of the union in London; was lost.

The Rev. ARTHUR MURSELL, of London, moved, and the Rev. Dr. BENHAM seconded, a series of rules; but it was resolved to adjourn the consideration of the rules till the meeting in London in April next. It was determined that a sustentation aid fund should be at once commenced, though the appropriation of it would be decided at a future meeting. The Rev. Dr. STANE was appointed the temporary treasurer. The Revs. H. C. LEONARD and Dr. BENHAM each promised an annual subscription of 5l. to the fund. The Rev. Dr. PRICE said that if the annual subscriptions were not lowered Welshmen would be excluded from the benefit of the fund.

The discussion on the report of the Committee on Education had to be adjourned till the next meeting.

In the afternoon a large number of ministers and gentlemen dined together at the Victoria Rooms.

The Rev. C. H. SPURGEON preached two sermons at Colston Hall on Thursday—one in the morning, and the other in the evening. At the former, though the service was fixed at an unusually early hour, and a charge was made for the tickets, the spacious hall was filled in every part. After devotional exercises had been engaged in, Mr. Spurgeon preached from the 11th chapter of the Book of Proverbs, 30th verse—

"He that winneth souls is wise." In the evening the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon again preached at the Colston Hall to a densely crowded audience, numbering about 4,000 people. The vast orchestra was also densely crowded, and at times the crush was so great that it was only with difficulty those situated near the front of the platform could keep their seats. Outside the hall an immense crowd of persons assembled in Trenchard-street, and all the thoroughfares in the neighbourhood were so blocked that it was deemed desirable to adopt some means of drawing off the crowd. Lodge-street Chapel was therefore opened, and a large number of people flocked thither and were addressed by the Revs. J. P. Chown and Charles Clark. Even this failed to draw off all the crowd assembled outside the Colston Hall, and a third service was carried on in the open street. Mr. Spurgeon preached from the 6th chapter of Galatians, 7th verse—"Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth." At the close Mr. Spurgeon stated that the proceeds of the tickets and the two collections would go towards the expenses of entertaining the ministers at Bristol.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRISONERS.—The Middlesex magistrates, on Thursday, after a warm discussion, rejected by 44 against 30 votes, a resolution in favour of a fixed remuneration to the Roman Catholic priests who now administer spiritual consolation to the prisoners of their persuasion.

THE SALFORD CHAPEL CASE.—Mr. Joshua Williams, Q.C., to whom was referred the arbitration in the case of the Pickering Independent Chapel, the differences relative to which have given rise to so much scandal, has decided that the Rev. M. A. Wilkinson was legitimately dispossessed by a majority of the communicants in June last.

THE VICAR OF HAYDOCK.—An announcement is made which has no doubt some relation to the recent Ritualistic observances at Haydock, near Warrington. The Rev. Alan Greenwell, vicar of Haydock, under whose direction the ceremonies took place, will in a few months resign his office as a clergyman of the Established Church.

RITUALISM AT BRIGHTON.—Mr. Purchas has resolved to defy the Bishop of Chichester, and the services at St. James's, Brighton, on Sunday, were conducted as usual. Mr. Purchas, it is stated, considers that he is practically a beneficed clergyman, and not a mere stipendiary curate, subject to be inhibited by the Bishop at pleasure. The correspondent of the *Times* was told that the epistle was read by a person who, though he wore a vestment, was not in orders. The writer adds, that some gentlemen who tried to obtain admission into the chapel were informed that they could not come in unless they were seatholders, as St. James's was the private property of Mr. Purchas.

A WELSH LANDLORD AND HIS NONCONFORMIST WORKMEN.—Lord Penrhyn is an extensive landowner in Wales. On a property of his, called (in the English tongue) Red Quarry, there are eighty Nonconformist workmen. These persons wished to rent a piece of land from his lordship to build an Independent chapel upon. Two ministers of the Independent body waited upon Lord Penrhyn's agent to make the request, but it was peremptorily refused on the ground that the two ministers forming the deputation approved of the Liberation Society's doings. Some correspondence passed, and on one of the ministers intimating his intention to publish the correspondence, he was forbidden by a letter from Lord Penrhyn's solicitor to do so at his peril.—*Western Press.*

PROTEST AGAINST RITUALISM.—The Archdeacon and a number of rural deans in the diocese of Chichester have addressed a memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Chichester expressing their sense of the danger arising from the Ritualistic excesses of the day. They say:—"We feel that the practices and principles in question are irreconcilable with the doctrines and rubrics of the Reformed Church of England, are alienating the affections of the laity, and are eventually endangering the connection of the Church and State. We should rejoice at any well-considered measures, consistent with justice and fairness, for their repression, and hereby tender our hearty support in our several spheres to any means your grace (lordship) may think it expedient to adopt in this province (diocese) for the purpose."

MR. BRIGHT AND THE BIRMINGHAM PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.—A short time since the members of the Birmingham Protestant Association addressed a communication to each of the candidates for that borough, which, with the reply of Mr. Bright thereto, were published in the papers. An additional correspondence has taken place on the subject. The committee "seek," before giving their conscientious and independent votes, to know if Mr. Bright will or will not in Parliament protest against all endowment and support of Popery, seeing that this system is, and ever has been, intolerant and despotic, denying alike civil and religious liberty to all but its own adherents, and if the hon. member will "protest against the traitorous introduction of Popish practices and doctrines into the State Church of England by the Ritualists." Mr. Bright replied as follows:—"Street, near Glastonbury, Oct. 15, 1868.—Dear Sir,—I think I can add little with advantage to my former letter. I cannot undertake to expel any persons from England on the ground of their religious opinions; and with regard to those whom you term 'Ritualists' in the Church of England, I feel that as a Nonconformist it would be difficult for me to decide who should remain in the Church of England, and still more difficult to say who should be expelled from it. My principles on the question of

legislation for Churches have been often publicly stated, and my constituents can be no strangers to them. The policy of the Liberal party at this moment is that which I have always advised: it is to abolish the State Church in Ireland, and to discontinue the grants to the College of Maynooth and to the Presbyterian Church in that country. I have always objected to public or Parliamentary grants of money to religious sects or churches. You must excuse me if I have nothing more to add to this.—I am respectfully yours, JOHN BRIGHT.—Mr. J. T. Horton."

CHURCH-RATE AT GREENWICH UNDER THE NEW LAW.—At a vestry-meeting held last week, and convened under the new Act, the Rev. Dr. Miller, Vicar of Greenwich, made a brief statement in reference to the altered position of the churchwardens as to the funds; a rate having always been granted in Greenwich under the old law. The vicar having pointed out that pew-rents in a parish church were lawful, discussed the question of the weekly offertory. Looking at the fact that for the most part the well-to-do parishioners attended his other church, St. Mary's, it was clear that the proceeds of the offertory would be wholly insufficient. Moreover, this plan would throw all the burden on the congregation actually worshipping at the parish church, whereas many of the expenses ought to be shared by the whole parish. A system of voluntary contribution, by private collection, he thought would by no means be as successful as a rate under the new law. Their position was embarrassed by the reduced area of the parish since the subdivision, which has deprived the vicar of the richest district. He thought the churchwardens were acting wisely in trying the new law. A rate of threepence in the pound was agreed to, the amount being larger in consequence of the subdivision referred to.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF SPAIN.—The *Times*' special correspondent writes as follows on this subject:—"The Spaniard's creed may be destroyed, but not changed. It is a perfect mystery to me how conscientious English Roman Catholics can visit these southern countries, and still own any connection with the grovelling superstition which here goes by the name of religion. Those who look in at the Sanctuary of Atocha, or who visit the Chapel of the Virgin at Toledo, must be at a loss to find even the faintest trace of Christianity among the paraphernalia of the worse than Pagan idolatry which everywhere meets their eyes. Such as it is, however, that is the Spaniard's religion, the beginning and end of all his creed and worship. Remove that mere scaffolding which priestly cunning has reared, and the edifice is nowhere. Nothing is easier than to turn a Spaniard into a thorough infidel; but to stop him at some half-way of rational belief is an utter impossibility—unless the cure proceeds from the very sources from which the evil has sprung. What the priest has done, the priest alone can undo. Should anything like a good understanding grow up between the emancipated laity and the clergy now deprived of the sovereign's support, it is not impossible that the sounder part of the priesthood might aspire to place their religion on a different footing—on a footing less at variance with the ideas of modern progress. Were the temporal power to come to an end, and the Church to be driven to her own resources, it is not impossible that both in Italy and in Spain reform of the most shocking abuses might arise from the Church herself, and for her own sake. Without the guidance of his priest, for good or for evil, the Roman Catholic will attempt nothing. It is well to guard against illusions. Society in these southern countries cannot for a long time—cannot, perhaps, for ever, be emancipated from the clergy."

ENGLISH CLERGYMEN AND THE IRISH CHURCH.—Three more clergymen have spoken out boldly in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The Rev. F. F. Trench, rector of Newton, in Meath, has published a pamphlet declaring disestablishment and disendowment in Ireland to be desirable under existing circumstances, and affirming his deep persuasion that Protestant ascendancy has been religiously injurious to the members of his own Church; and at a meeting held in favour of the Liberal candidate at Cricklade, last week, the Rev. T. Maurice, a clergyman of long-standing in the neighbourhood, and a magistrate for Wilts and Gloucester, said that for many years he had looked upon the Irish Church as an Establishment as a grievous injustice; and another clergyman, the Rev. W. H. Beadon, spoke to the same effect. The Rev. W. F. Wilkinson, vicar of St. Werburgh's, Derby, has addressed a lengthened manifesto to his parishioners, in which he examines the bearings of the much-contested Irish Church question. Starting with the premise that an established National Church should embody the national form of Christianity, he contended that the existing State Church in Ireland has always failed to fulfil this primary and essential condition. Mr. Wilkinson is persuaded that the opposition offered in this country to the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church is due, not so much to the conviction that a Protestant Establishment in Ireland is justifiable or desirable, as to the fear that its suppression may lead to the dissolution of Church and State in England also, and throughout the kingdom. But he maintains that we ought not to be deterred from redressing a grievance and a wrong, and from performing an act of national justice, by the anticipation of probable evil consequences to ourselves—consequences which, if they follow, will be the result of our long persistence in neglect or violation of duty. There may be danger to the Church of England in the severance of the Church of Ireland from a State connection with it; but there is infinitely greater danger in the continuance of that connection.

Religious and Denominational News.

HOLYHEAD.—The Rev. William Lloyd, of Aldersgate-street Chapel, London, has accepted the invitation of the Congregational Church at the new Tabernacle, Holyhead, to become their pastor.

CHESHUNT COLLEGE.—On Monday evening the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon preached to a crowded congregation at Union Chapel, Islington (Rev. H. Allon's), in connection with the celebration of the centenary of Cheshunt College.

OFFORD-ROAD CHAPEL.—The vacancy occasioned by the removal of the Rev. John Pulsford to Edinburgh has at length been filled; the Rev. Evan Lewis, of Preston, having accepted the cordial and unanimous call of the church at Offord-road to become their pastor.

THE REV. W. M. PUNSHON.—The announcement is already made in the Canadian Methodist journals that the Rev. W. M. Punshon, M.A., will again fulfil the duties of President of that Conference next year. One journal makes the significant announcement that Mr. Punshon's stay in Canada will probably "not be a short one."

WHITEWEBBS.—The foundation-stone of a new Congregational chapel, intended to be supplied by the students of Cheshunt College, was laid by J. B. Howat, Esq., of Enfield, at Whitewebbs, near Cheshunt, on Friday week. The Rev. Professor Reynolds delivered an address upon the occasion; and amongst those present were Rev. S. J. Smith, B.A., Rev. H. Storer Toms, Rev. T. Walker, Rev. O. Jackson, and several students of the College.

FETTER-LANE.—The recognition of the Rev. John Spurgeon, as pastor of the Fetter-lane Chapel, took place on Wednesday, the 7th instant. There was a good attendance, and the chapel having been recently painted and cleaned, the old Nonconformist place of worship had quite a cheerful appearance. James Townley, Esq., took the chair. After the singing of a hymn, the Rev. R. Forsaith read 1 Tim. iii., and the Rev. W. M. Robinson offered up prayer. The Rev. John Spurgeon then gave a short sketch of his past career in the ministry, and expressed his gratification at the manner in which he had been welcomed by the congregation at Fetter-lane. The Rev. J. S. Pearsall then offered prayer that God would bless the union now confirmed. The Rev. R. D. Wilson, Craven Chapel, delivered the charge to the pastor. The Rev. J. A. Spurgeon said it was not every one that was present at the settlement of his own father—(laughter)—and it would ill become him to say anything in his commendation. Rev. J. Wilson said a few words in relation to Mr. Spurgeon's labours amongst the church and congregation. The Rev. Henry Gill gave a short address to the church on its duties. The Rev. G. O. Frost spoke of his knowledge of the Rev. John Spurgeon, and bid him a hearty welcome. The Rev. M. Williams also gave a very interesting address.

Correspondence.

THE BISHOP'S STORTFORD GRAMMAR-SCHOOL.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR,—A story often repeated may at last be accepted as fact, and those who do not know me may be led to believe that I am a "timid and dubious" Nonconformist, or even credit the aspersion that I should give a "warmer and heartier welcome" to pupils who are the sons of Church of England parents than to the sons of Nonconformists. If my own character was not a sufficient guarantee, yet I should have thought the occasion upon which my remarks were offered might have shielded me from such a misconception. I do not see that Nonconformity is dishonoured by our directors admitting the sons of Conformists as pupils upon their own terms; but consider, on the other hand, that Nonconformity is magnified thereby; for, so far, such persons are converts to our Nonconformist position.

Nonconformity is no longer honourable when she supplants Christianity; and, speaking thus by comparison of my earnest desire to make the boys Christian gentlemen, I asserted that Nonconformity would not occupy the most prominent place in the religious instruction of the school, as I believe a candid reading of even the summary report of my remarks would show. Except at the express wish of the parents, it never was my intention to neglect full instruction in the grounds and reasons of Nonconformity, which duty I have already strenuously urged in print elsewhere.

I remain, Sir,

Yours obediently,

RICHARD ALLIOTT,

Head Master of the Nonconformist Grammar School, Bishop's Stortford.

Bishop's Stortford, Oct. 17, 1868.

CHURCH-MEMBERSHIP AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR,—Will you permit me, through your columns, to add a word or two on the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Beasley's excellent paper on "The Design and Terms of Church Membership," at the meeting of the Congregational Union at Leeds last week?

I think there was a general agreement that the modes heretofore adopted in our churches relative to the intended admission of members do not work satisfactorily. They

operate, I think, to exclude many whose presence in the church would be a source of strength, while they signally fail to secure that which we are all anxious to guard, the purity of the church. The statement made by one of the speakers who took part in the discussion at Leeds, that some of the best men are often found outside the church and express no desire to enter within its circle, will, I believe, find corroboration in the circumstances of nearly every congregation. Many such excellent persons have indeed a desire for fellowship at the Lord's Table, but they say, "You fence round that table with conditions so obnoxious and wholly unauthorised that we decline to draw near. You require first, submission to some kind of judicial inquiry imposing tests of faith and character which are alike offensive and futile; and secondly, you demand our adhesion to an organised society having specific objects in view beyond that of communion at the Lord's Table. I wish to commune at the Lord's Table, but I do not wish to ally myself with your more exclusive society. Why may I not do so?" When it is urged that the ordeal of a judicial inquiry is a serious obstacle to a timid and delicate (generally, the most devoutly religious) mind, it is replied, "Oh, what is your religion worth that you are not even willing to incur the slight inconvenience of such an inquiry for the sake of Christ?" It was said by one of the speakers at Leeds that such objectors would be of no help to the church if gathered in, and that indeed they had better be kept out. But this reply seems to me to fail entirely to hit the true mark. It is not that the objectors are unwilling to submit to sacrifice for the sake of Christ, since it is for His sake and the reverence they have for Him as "the truth," that they submit, year after year, to the pain of exclusion from His Table. Their moral sense revolts against the "ordeal," inasmuch as they regard it as pretentious, inoperative for good, and therefore worthless and false. It assumes, they think, an authority and claims a power of insight which do not exist. The result is that conscientious Christian abstinence from church fellowship has become a notable feature in almost all our congregations. That this state of things is working most disastrously against the spiritual status of our churches and seriously deteriorating character, I entertain no question whatever.

What is the remedy? I venture to reply; make the communion of the Lord's Table perfectly open, and recognise the possibility of Christian men and women stopping there without seeking for a further entrance into the church. Admit all who wish to unite in that fellowship, only setting forth with unmistakable clearness the implied condition of such communion, that it is for such only "as discern the Lord's body." Let it become a well-recognised axiom of our church order, that we disclaim the right and decline the responsibility of deciding whether or not this or that man is a true disciple of Christ, and that we charge the whole weight of so grave a question upon the individual conscience. Let it, moreover, be frequently urged upon those who are mere communicants, that an entrance into the inner circle of the church is invited, will be helpful to their own spiritual life, and will be a new mark of homage to their Lord. How often might it reasonably be expected that the Lord's Table would thus be a door into the church, and that many who at first were contented with the fellowship of communion at the Lord's Table alone, would crave for the fuller fellowship of participation in all the activities of the church? The very best elements in our congregations would thus quietly assimilate to the church and communicate to it a well-nigh-lost vigour and strength.

But there should be, I think, no tests, even upon entrance to the church. Beyond an assent to the common fundamental laws upon which, as an organised body, every society must necessarily be based, no question should be asked, no condition imposed. It could not be otherwise if the approach to the communion of the Lord's Table became perfectly open. The entire abolition of tests is involved in this step. Otherwise this great anomaly may arise: that when persons who have been for months or perhaps years communicants at the Lord's Table seek for admission to the church you would have to submit to the "ordeal" those whose Christian character had already been long recognised in the act of communion. And the abandonment of tests as to some would demand their abandonment as to all. I believe that the effect of such a change in our church action would be wonderful, not only in preserving the purity we have, but in restoring a purity which we have lost. And I believe further that many who now pass their life uneasy and restless, because of a conscious unsatisfied want, the very life of whose souls is imperilled by their forced expulsion from an ordinance after which they yearn, would then contribute to our church life a fervour and intelligence of piety which would come upon us as a new baptism from on high.

There were other points in Mr. Beasley's address which demand the devout and patient consideration of our churches. I do not, however, sympathise with his apprehension as to the growth of democracy amongst us. No doubt it has its perils, as what condition of life, in the world or the Church, has not? But it is surely rather late in the day to deprecate the growth of democracy in the midst of a community which has long since detected in this growth the heaven-born impulse of the human heart claiming thrones and societies, churches and ministers alike, as made for man and not he for them. It is certain that we, as Congregational churches,

are "in for it." We are upon the sea of Democracy, both in our religious and our political relations. Let us but trust our Pilot, and put forth our best skill to catch the breeze, and I believe that He who launched our barque will send us prosperous gales and a happy voyage.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

A LAY DELEGATE.

October 17, 1868.

THE INUNDATIONS IN SWITZERLAND.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Allow me to call your attention to the advertisement in your paper of this day respecting the inundations in Switzerland (of which the public has already been informed by some of the daily papers). To give full details would be impossible in a limited space, but a few instances of loss of life, &c., from local papers may be judiciously quoted, and will, I am sure, excite the sympathy of the many Englishmen who have from time to time visited the country. In the Canton of Tessin the Zivinen and Blegno Valleys, the districts of Bellinzona, Locarno, Vallemaggia are completely devastated; roads entirely destroyed, bridges torn away; at Bodio twenty-two dead bodies taken from beneath ruins. In Corzozza twenty-three persons buried by an earthlip. At Chinciasco, Malvaglia, Camiasca, great loss of human life, and thousands of cattle lost. At Polmengo another slip has taken place, and only the church tower is visible. At Ascona, through high water, forty-three families had to be provided with shelter.

In the Canton of St. Gall, at Ragatz, not only the Rhine but the Tamina is swollen, and has on the right bank penetrated into the vineyards and filled them with gravel. Communication with Maienfeld is interrupted, a stream has forced its way over fields, and enlarged to the size of a lake, and utterly destroyed the crops. The country between Sargans and Mels forms one lake, and there is no communication by road nor rail; from Sevelen to Salez all is under water, the people have tried at the risk of their lives to save their property, but without success. In the Rhinethal the inhabitants from Au and Widnau had to flee to the heights, on roofs and trees; in Montlingen ninety houses are under water, 380 people are requiring help in the strongest sense of the word. At Burgerau, near Buchs, eighty-five houses are empty, 440 inhabitants had to seek refuge. The inundations of the Rhinethal extend over a distance of forty-five English miles, and where there was a rich harvest there is now want of everything.

In the Canton of Grisons the inhabitants of Vals have suffered most from the flood, from the fact that they were shut up to themselves and had to battle alone with the distress, although other villages on the bank of the Glenner have also suffered; houses fell in, furniture, cattle and provender were lost.

In Uri the Reuss has overflowed the postal road from Amsteg to Andermatt, washing away several houses and barns and part of a wooden bridge.

In the Upper Valais the Rhone has passed the banks at Eiholz, Zaldern, Visp, Baltschieder, Raron, Gampel, Turtman, and Steg. The plain near Zeuk is under water. In many places the harvest is lost.

Where the floods have now subsided mud and debris remain behind, which cannot fail, I fear, to injure both men and cattle by originating fevers and other evils.

The losses are estimated at from ten to twelve millions of francs (400,000*l.* to 500,000*l.*). To meet this serious emergency, the Federal Government has made a strong appeal to all the inhabitants of Switzerland and to the Swiss abroad for aid, and I trust many of your readers will feel inclined to help.

The committee in London have already remitted 800*l.*, chiefly subscribed among themselves, and they confidently hope that they may be sustained by the practical sympathy of the many thousands of Englishmen who have visited their country and are acquainted with the virtues of the population.

I am yours faithfully,

FERD. EHRENZELLER.

19, Cannon-street, London, E.C.,

Oct. 21, 1868.

FRENCH THIEVES.—The Duke of Frouzac, nephew of Marshal Richelieu, was coming out of the opera one night in a splendid dress embroidered with pearls, when two thieves managed to cut off his coat tails. He turned into his club, where everybody laughed at him, and so he found out what had happened, and went home. Early the next morning, a well-dressed man called at the duke's hotel, and demanded to see him at once, on a matter of the most vital importance. Monsieur de Frouzac was awakened. Monseigneur," said the visitor, "I am an officer of the police. Monsieur the lieutenant of police has learned the accident which happened to you yesterday on leaving the opera, and I have been sent by him to request you to order the coat to be placed in my hands, that we may convict the offenders by comparing it with the mutilated tails." The dress was given up, and the duke was in raptures with the vigilance of the police. But it was a new trick of the rogue who had stolen the tails, by which he possessed himself of the entire garment.—*Chambers's Journal*.

Foreign and Colonial.

THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.

The visit of Marshal Serrano and Admiral Topete to Saragossa took place on Friday as arranged. They had a very enthusiastic reception, Liberals of every shade fraternising, and the people crying, "Down with the Bourbons," "Long live Serrano, Prim, Topete, Olozaga, and Rivero." Marshal Serrano made a speech at Saragossa on Saturday. He regretted that Senors Olozaga and Rivero did not participate in the Government, and said the Government would resign after the assembling of the Constituent Cortes. He expressed a wish for the formation of a Ministry under the leadership of Olozaga and Rivero.

Senor Olozaga arrived at Madrid on Sunday, and was met at the station by General Prim. A number of deputations afterwards waited upon him. The next day at breakfast, Senor Olozaga made a speech, in which he said that he and his friends were of opinion that a monarchy was a necessity for Spain. For a republic it was necessary that the people should receive a preparatory education. Spain would enjoy freedom with a representative government based upon universal suffrage. Admiral Topete was of the same opinion, but added that he would support a Republic if that form of government were established by the Cortes. Marshal Serrano said the Provisional Government would respect the national wishes. Senor Moras, a Democrat, declared that the Democratic party would adhere to the Republican form of government as their *beau ideal*; but as the faithful guardians of the liberty of the country they would support and respect monarchical government if such were voted by the nation.

General Prim, according to the *Gaulois*, denies that he ever dreamt of assuming the crown of Spain, and declares that even if it were offered to him he would not accept it.

The declaration of the Junta, which has been looked forward to with so much interest, was adopted on Saturday and promulgated on Sunday. The Junta are of opinion that the question of the form of government for Spain being of the utmost importance, no decision should be come to upon it without full discussion previously, and that the vote of the plebiscite before the electors had had time for such discussion would not be a satisfactory expression of the national will. They think that the people have not had sufficient opportunity for deciding what form of government would best suit them, or what person should be chosen to fill the highest office of the state. They propose, therefore, that the Provisional Government should declare it to belong to the Constituent Assembly alone to decide the question of the future form of government, while at the same time they disclaim any intention of ignoring the right of every Spaniard to "express his opinion or manifest his personal sympathy."

The Spanish Ministry has issued a great number of important decrees. One abolishes the *cetrai* duties throughout Spain and the adjacent islands. These duties produce, it is estimated, about two millions sterling annually, and in place of them a poll tax upon all persons of the age of 14 and upwards is to be imposed, according to the value of the houses they inhabit and the position of their families. The poor are to be exempt. Among other changes which are to be carried out, the election of all municipalities by universal suffrage is announced.

Another most important decree issued by the Minister of Justice, suppresses all the monasteries, convents, and other religious establishments founded since 1837. All their property of every kind is to be transferred to the State, and the monks and nuns are to receive no pension from the Government. The convents established before 1837 are to be reduced one-half, and are to receive no more novices. All congregations of women engaged in the education of youth will be preserved.

An amnesty has been granted for all offences against the press laws. The Junta proposes that all children born of female slaves shall be declared free, their freedom to date from the 17th of September last. A decree defining the form of election to be held in the colonies for deputies to the Constituent Cortes is shortly to appear. Negroes will not be permitted to vote so long as slavery exists. The colonial deputies will come fully empowered to propose the best means of putting down slavery.

A decree by the Minister of Public Instruction orders that henceforward primary education shall be absolutely free, restoring the normal schools, and reappointing the professors removed by the late Government. The Ministry is also preparing measures for establishing free secondary and superior education.

The report of an attempt on the life of General Prim appears to have no foundation.

The favourite candidate for the vacant throne is Ferdinand of Coburg, father of the King of Portugal, who acted as regent during his son's minority. It is doubtful whether he would accept the honour.

The suppression of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property, has, we learn, caused some indignation amongst the Church party in France. Above three hundred Spanish priests and monks have recently crossed the frontier, and have been received into the religious houses in France and Belgium belonging to their several orders. Most of these clericals are reported to have been robbed *en route* of whatever money they possessed.

Several banking houses have offered, it is said, to

advance important sums of money to the Provisional Government. According to the Madrid correspondent of the *Gaulois*, an English firm has offered to advance a loan of twenty millions sterling at five per cent.

It is said that the Vatican has changed its tone about the ex-Queen of Spain, and is drawing back, the whole of the Court, from Cardinal Antonelli downwards, being disappointed to find she has no money. Isabella remains at Pau, but will, it is thought, remove into the interior of France. In Paris there is a rumour that the Intendant of the Queen is negotiating for the purchase of an estate in the neighbourhood of Marly. But Signor Marfori has been otherwise engaged. He has been fighting a duel with M. Rochefort, whom he wounded.

Postscript.

Wednesday, October 21, 1868.

SPAIN.

The manifesto of the Provisional Government of Spain was issued yesterday, in the form of a diplomatic circular, which is described as very lengthy. After explaining the causes of the overthrow of the late Government, it says that the principle of popular sovereignty, now naturalised in Spain, is the principle of national life, and that that sovereignty will decree by its representatives a complete system of liberties. The manifesto states that it is the desire of the Government to be on good terms with foreign powers, and that it hopes to obtain their moral support. If they do not follow the example of America, it will not be discouraged, but will quietly pursue its task, having no foreign intervention to fear. It trusts, however, that the support will be accorded. The *Gazette de France* announces that the father of the King of Portugal has peremptorily declined to accept the crown of Spain in his own name and that of his sons.

It is expected that the *Gazette* will publish to-day official decrees proclaiming liberty of conscience, liberty of the Press, the right of association, liberty of teaching, and universal suffrage.

Senor Olozaga, upon his arrival, made two speeches—the first at the palace of the former Chamber of Deputies, and the other from the balcony of the hotel of the Minister of the Interior, when he was frequently interrupted by "Vivas" and almost frantic applause. He said:—

My whole life has been devoted to liberty, and is in unison both with the spirit of the present day and with that of the future. I strongly recommend that a powerful support should be given to the movement, in order definitively to determine as soon as possible our national position, and inspire Europe with a feeling of confidence towards Spain.

Tranquillity prevails throughout the country.

MR. GLADSTONE IN LANCASHIRE.—Mr. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Mr. H. R. Grenfell, M.P., the Liberal candidates for the representation of the South-Western division of the county of Lancaster, attended a meeting of the electors last evening at Leigh. The meeting was held in the weaving-shed of the Co-operative Mill, and about 4,000 were present. The right hon. gentleman spoke for about an hour on the current topics of the day, and was received with much enthusiasm.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

There was a moderate supply of English wheat on offer here to-day, in good condition. For all qualities the demand ruled very inactive, but no further change took place in prices. In foreign wheat a few retail sales were reported, on former terms. Barley was steady in value and demand for both malting and grinding descriptions. The malt trade was inanimate, at unaltered currencies. There was a good supply of oats on offer, but the demand ruled steady, and the recent advance was well supported. Beans and peas were firm in value, with a moderate demand. Maize was active, at the late improvement. The flour trade was very quiet, and the quotations for inferior foreign and country marks were the turn lower.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.					
	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English & Scotch	910	1,020	330	50	55
Irish	—	—	—	2,900	—
Foreign	7,880	2,710	—	6,390	250 qrs
					Maize, 920 qrs.

INCONSISTENT MORALITY.—A distinguished divine remarked lately that "some men will not shave on Sunday, and yet they spend all the week in shaving their fellow-men; and many folks think it very wicked to black their boots on Sunday morning, yet they do not hesitate to black their neighbours' reputation on week-days."

AN INCIDENT IN CANVASSING.—The other day we heard a good story of a newly-enfranchised elector, who for the first time was being canvassed for his vote. The individual in question is employed as a labourer in a large establishment in the town, and he had been seized hold of by an official in the same work, who is understood to be "retained" by the committee of one of the candidates for the Kil-marnock Burghs. For some time he listened to the recital of the honourable candidate's merits. At length, however, the canvasser, thinking he had made some impression, paused for a reply. "Och, sure," says the voter, "an' I don't know nothin' about the man yer spakin' of, but ye may put me down for sixpence." The poor man thought it was a subscription that was being raised for some fellow-workman or other who had been injured.—*Dum-barton Herald*.

TO the FREEHOLDERS and other ELECTORS of the COUNTY of MIDDLESEX.

GENTLEMEN,—

At the dissolution of the existing Parliament I propose presenting myself before you for re-election, and to solicit at your hands a renewal of that trust which you confided to me eleven years ago. During that period, I believe that the votes I have given have been in accordance with my promises, and with the opinions of a large majority of my Constituents.

In the year 1856, I cordially supported the Liberal Government of the day in their efforts to pass a measure of Parliamentary Reform, which, though less extensive than the one which has recently become law, appeared to be devised in an honest and straightforward spirit. Those proposals failed, but the succeeding Administration were compelled by the voice of the country to introduce measures, the result of which has been a large extension of the suffrage, with a moderate redistribution of seats.

During the two past sessions I co-operated by my votes with the Liberal Party in endeavouring to make the Government proposals on those subjects simple, satisfactory, and comprehensive; it remains for the Reformed Parliament, under the guidance of a Liberal Administration, to remedy and remove certain defects that still exist in the laws regulating the representation of the people.

I supported the resolutions of Mr. Gladstone on the question of the Established Church in Ireland, believing that in that country justice requires that all creeds and denominations should be placed upon a perfectly equal footing; and I should vote for the disestablishment of the Irish Church (due regard being had to all vested rights and existing interests), coupled with the withdrawal of the Begium Donum and the grant to Maynooth, in preference to the concurrent endowment of the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Episcopal Churches.

Should this policy prevail, a great act of right will be done to Ireland, and I have no fear for the Protestant faith, depending as it will then do upon three safeguards, pure doctrine, attached members, and zealous ministers.

I trust that the good work begun in our systems of popular and University Education may be continued, and that you will accept my previous votes as a sufficient guarantee for my views on these subjects.

The questions of sound financial arrangements and judicious economy in our expenditure, are of much interest and importance at the present time, and I believe that a Liberal Administration, strong in the confidence of Parliament and the country, will be enabled to continue those fiscal reforms, and that reduction of taxation, which were carried out so successfully between the years 1856 and 1865.

In conclusion, I hope that if you believe that neither imperial nor local interests have suffered at my hands during the time I have had the honour of being one of your representatives, you will continue to me in the new Parliament that confidence which I deeply value, and which I shall endeavour at all times to preserve unimpaired.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,
ENFIELD.

7, Charles-street, Berkeley-square, W.,
Oct 3rd, 1868.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

“A Wesleyan” at Bristol writes to inquire as to the authenticity of an extract from the *Nonconformist* which is being circulated in that city headed “Mr. Miall’s Opinion of the Wesleyans,” with a view to damage the Liberal cause. We may inform our correspondent and others who may meet with the same handbill, that this electioneering artifice was borrowed from Mr. Ripley’s supporters at Bradford. The extract in question appeared in an article in the *Nonconformist* in 1853, which, though condemnatory of the course pursued by the Wesleyan leaders towards the expelled ministers, contained a eulogy on Wesleyanism in general, and of the good accomplished by it. This passage is of course suppressed in the published bill, and only such portion of the article is quoted as is adapted to convey a false impression of Mr. Miall’s views.

* * * Press of matter obliges us to postpone this week the letter of our Irish correspondent.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1868.

SUMMARY.

THE date of the General Election is now understood to be fixed. The borough elections will be commenced on Monday, the 16th of November, and those for the counties two days later. Probably the greater number of contests will be decided in the course of a single week, and there will be ample time for a winter session to decide the fate of the Disraeli Ministry. Into the electoral conflict, which is now

beginning to rage with great intensity, Mr. Gladstone has thrown himself with his customary fervour. The earnest and versatile speeches which he has delivered in Lancashire during the past week range over the whole political field, and exhaust the points of controversy between himself and his opponents. The Liberal leader leaves no room for ambiguity as to his views on the great questions of the day, and so clearly explains the principles involved in the present appeal to the nation, as to give his opponents little opportunity for successfully raising false issues, and to inspire his supporters with renewed zeal and enthusiasm.

Spain, profoundly tranquil, remains in a state of expectancy, and is at present disposed to acquiesce in the decisions of the Provisional Government. Prim and Serrano have been strengthened by the arrival at Madrid of Senor Olozaga, the veteran Liberal, whose mature statesmanship will greatly help those successful soldiers. All three, with public opinion at their back, are favourable to a constitutional monarchy, and are believed to look upon Ferdinand of Coburg, the father of the reigning King of Portugal, who acted as Regent during his son’s minority, as the most eligible candidate for the vacant throne. The only doubtful point seems to be whether the succession should devolve on his eldest son, Dom Luis, the present King of Portugal—in which case the personal union of the two crowns would follow as a matter of course—or on Ferdinand’s younger son, now twenty-one years old, in which case the peninsula would be divided between the two branches of the same house of Braganza-Coburg. But the Junta is in no haste. It has announced that the question of the future form of government is reserved for a Constitutional Assembly which is to be leisurely elected some time hence.

Meanwhile, the Provisional Government is acting with full powers and stern vigour. The expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their property has been followed by a decree suppressing the monasteries and nunneries founded since 1837, and transferring their property to the State. Other edicts declare education to be free, and restore the normal schools; provide for the representation of the colonies in the Constituent Cortes; decree the freedom of all children born of female slaves since last September; abolish the octroi duties throughout Spain, and substitute for them a poll-tax from which the poor are exempted; and arrange for the election of municipalities by universal suffrage. Some measures in the direction of free-trade are promised, but how the financial necessities of the country are to be met is not yet apparent. The Junta is doing the work of legislation, and probably the Constituent Cortes will only have to ratify its decrees, and accept the constitution which the combined wisdom of Prim, Serrano, and Olozaga shall have prepared for the nation. The Spaniards seem to be wonderfully patient and docile.

The influence of the great events that have occurred in Spain has not been unfelt in Rome, where great fears are entertained of a rising against the Papal Government, and of a renewal of negotiations between France and Italy for the withdrawal of the French garrison, suggested by the visit of Prince Napoleon to Florence. The Pope and his cardinals, perplexed with their own difficulties and fears, are in no haste to welcome the ex-Queen of Spain to Rome, and are said to dissuade her from leaving the protection of the French Emperor.

Napoleon III. has returned from Biarritz, and his arrival at Paris has given rise, as usual, to a variety of sensational reports. One journal declares that a commercial and military treaty with Holland has been actually signed. Another represents the Emperor as intent on a scheme to be submitted to the Great Powers for a general disarmament, with the establishment of an international Congress to see it carried out. It is, however, quite certain that the relations between the French and Prussian Governments are of an unusually cordial nature, and that the French army is being reduced to a peace footing. For many days past soldiers, with knapsacks on their backs, have been seen hurrying towards the different railway-stations in Paris. Numbers of the men composing the regiments which garrison the capital have got lengthened leave of absence, or have been relieved altogether of military duty. In all the garrison towns in the provinces, and even, it is said, in Algeria, furloughs are being granted and discharges made. Even the warlike *Patrie* admits that many thousand soldiers and sailors have received leave of absence, that there are now only 354,000 men under arms, and that the course adopted by the Ministry of War is in perfect harmony with the policy of the Imperial Government. All this is being done without the aid of a Congress.

ELECTORAL EDUCATION.

MANY years ago this journal defended the doctrine of a very wide extension of the suffrage, on the ground that whenever political power should be lodged in the hands of the great bulk of the people, every effort would be made to give them adequate instruction in relation to the affairs likely to be referred to their decision. The anticipation is now being realised. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1868 have effectually destroyed the monopoly of voting previously held by the middle classes, and in the boroughs of Great Britain, and, to some extent, in the counties, eligibility to the Parliamentary franchise has been placed by law upon a popular basis. The General Election which is now close at hand is the first of the series to come off under the new and more democratic distribution of political rights, and already we are justified by facts in affirming that the activity displayed by all parties in “educating” the constituencies, is great and persistent beyond all precedent. If we are indebted for nothing more to household suffrage than the indoctrination of the electoral communities in political truths, there would yet be good and sufficient reason for congratulating the country on the incalculable benefits which have resulted from the popularisation of its constitution.

It has happened that the process which will terminate in the ensuing General Election commenced at a much earlier period, and has extended over a much longer interval of time than need or could have been under ordinary circumstances. A Parliament which, like the present, has practically resolved that it ought no longer to exist, but should give place to a more popularly chosen successor, has unanswerably enforced upon the Crown the propriety of dissolving it as soon as may be; while, on the other hand, the necessity of taking the next election on a completed registration of voters under the provisions of the new law, prohibits all idea of allowing dissolution to follow immediately on the sessional prorogation. These two conditions have fixed the unavoidable duration of the present electoral campaign. It has been long beyond precedent. It has lasted as many months as on any normal occasion it would occupy weeks. From the closing days of July till the middle of November the work of candidates and committees, of canvassing and speaking, will have been going on without intermission. “It’s an ill wind that blows nobody any good.” Electioneering, at best, is no very agreeable pastime. Electioneering spread over four months or thereabouts is a very wearisome business. Candidates are naturally bored to the last degree of endurance, and constituencies are very apt to be surfeited. Still, when all is over, there will be cause enough to be thankful that accidental conditions should have exacted from both such a heavy apparent sacrifice. The matter could not have been better ordered by the most sagacious political foresight. The leavening process could hardly have been carried on to the desired extent in much less time; and, certainly, without it, the issue might have proved a doubtful one for the country.

The number of political speeches—many of them of a high order, both for the amount of information they contain, and for the praiseworthy sentiments to which they appeal—which have been addressed by candidates to electors during the last few months, must have produced an immensely beneficial educational effect. Not only the newly-enfranchised working classes, but even the middle-class electors, have been plied most energetically with political instruction. Evening after evening has been devoted to the schooling of the ignorant, to the enlightenment of the uninformed, to the stirring up of the listless, to the stimulation of the public-spirited, all over the land. Opinions have been criticised, pretensions weighed, sophisms exposed, and principles of policy illustrated and enforced, in a style, and for purposes, specially adapted to rouse interest and to keep it awake. And it has to be borne in mind that all these educational efforts are assisted now-a-days by appliances which render them tenfold valuable. The cheap newspaper press almost everywhere reproduces for quiet perusal the lessons which were given the night before in an atmosphere of political excitement, and furnishes the opportunity for correcting the swift conclusions of passion by the light of cooler and more discriminating judgment. Daily discussion fixes, as well as adds definiteness to, the thoughts projected into the mind by oratory. Far below its usual depths the public mind is being saturated with political sentiment, and there seems every reason to think that the decisions of the constituencies at the next General Election will express, very much beyond what they have ever done before, the intelligence and moral sense of

their members. No doubt there will be a *residuum*; no doubt, it will be grievously large, but happily, in most cases, it will be in a minority, and every day's teaching is winning upon that minority, where it is not already hopelessly tainted with corruption.

Let our readers pause for an instant, and reflect upon the educational power of a rapid succession of Mr. Gladstone's election speeches. We say nothing of the subject matter of which they may chance to consist, nor of the lofty political tone which is sure to pervade them, nor even of the scrupulous accuracy of statement by which they are characterised. We simply point attention to the fact that they cannot be read by the most intelligent and highly cultivated members of the community without advantage, nor by the homeliest artisan without interest and appreciation. Orally addressed to but limited audiences, they gain access through the press, metropolitan and provincial, to myriads upon myriads of eager electors, while they are still, as it were, hot from the mint. Those well-weighed, full-freighted, generous, noble utterances of his, circulating as they do to the very extremities of the body politic, and quickening and moulding the political thought and feeling of classes until recently deemed unworthy of the franchise, are diffusing throughout the United Kingdom fresh life, and are elevating the masses to a higher grade of civilisation. Such a teacher, such pupils, such themes and occasions of instruction have surely never been brought together before, in this country at least. The perilous experiment of Household Suffrage, as many regarded it, is thus made the means of a more abiding safety—and the very instrument of power which has been so liberally distributed has become one of the chief incentives to a diligent and almost prodigal use of the highest educational appliances.

The work will not be lost, be the immediate issue of it what it may. We believe it is telling with inconceivable power upon the direct object for which it is carried on; but its indirect results will be even more permanently valuable. New constituent bodies have been called into being—it was of the last importance that the earliest impulse by which they should be moved should be of an essentially ennobling character. *C'est que le premier pas que coûte.* A good commencement is half the battle. A bias towards right as right, impressed upon new electors now, will probably operate to the formation of their political tastes and habits through life. And, fortunately, they are more than usually teachable, especially by Mr. Gladstone, in whom they have unbounded confidence. We had never so much hope of our country. It was never before subjected to such an instructional process. It never was more disposed to learn. It never had a better master. Much of this, if not the whole of it, we gain from the adoption of Household Suffrage.

SPANISH AFFAIRS.

SPAIN appears to be rapidly advancing towards a temporary consolidation of her new administrative agencies. Seldom, if ever, has revolution done its work more quietly, or hastened with more eager steps towards a normal condition of political life. The latest information come to hand is that the Revolutionary Junta of Madrid dissolved itself yesterday, and that its example will be immediately followed by the provincial Juntas. A Cabinet of Ministers, armed at present with full powers, wields the authority of the State, and every officer will soon hold office in subordination to it. Meanwhile, the people seem to be well content with the shape into which the exciting changes of the last month are settling themselves. They are as peaceably disposed as if the surface of their public affairs had been undisturbed by a single ripple. Probably, the convulsion which has overturned the throne and dynasty of an ancient House, and which has substituted a thoroughly democratic régime for a nominally Parliamentary, but practically despotic, system, will be followed after awhile by new causes of disturbance. They have not, however, made themselves visible as yet. The business of reorganisation proceeds smoothly and rapidly. The Provisional Government is everywhere loyally accepted, and the leaders of the revolution are working out in harmony the political programme which they laid before the people as the object of their insurrectionary movement.

To a very gratifying extent it is now clear that the revolution was attempted for the deliverance of the nation, not for the special benefit of the army. It was initiated by military men, but not for military purposes. The promotions which have been showered upon the officers of the army, as well upon

those who were firm for awhile in their allegiance to the Queen, as upon those who renounced her authority and achieved the liberty of the people, were, doubtless, a politic, albeit an expensive act. But, with this exception, the soldiery do not appear to have reaped the richest, far less the exclusive, fruits of their own victory. There is less heard of the army, and the position assigned to it is one of less prominence, than has been usual on similar occasions. Prim and Serrano obviously do not intend to rule by the sword, if it be possible to reach their ends by civil statesmanship. The official decrees which it is to-day expected will proclaim liberty of conscience, liberty of the Press, the right of association, liberty of teaching, and universal suffrage, whatever may hereafter be their practical effect, serve to demonstrate at least the liberal intentions of the Government. The suppression of all monastic and conventual establishments founded since 1837, and the appropriation of their property, moveable and immovable, to the purposes of the State—the reduction of the number of convents established before 1837 to one-half, and the prohibition of those left from receiving novices in future, strikes one, at first sight, as an arbitrary exercise of the supreme power, considering that it is professedly provisional. But the act is mitigated by certain qualifications. "The monks and nuns thus released from their cloisters can enter the conventual establishments which are not suppressed, or return to secular life. In this (latter) case they are to address a petition to that effect, to the Civil Government, and they can claim back the money made over by them to the convents at the time of their entry."

Of course all these measures may be set aside by the Constituent Cortes, which will be an organ for the expression of the sovereign will of the people. They are provisional only, not final. They are probably intended as patterns after the fashion of which it is desired by the Government that permanent legislation shall proceed. They serve to scoop the channels in which the will of the people shall run. They are so little apposed, that the question has occurred to many why they should not be allowed to stand without seeking for them a final warrant in the approbation of the Constituent Cortes. General Prim, however, is right in ultimately referring all the proceedings of his Government to the popular sanction, technically as well as legitimately expressed. True, there must intervene two, three, or more months before universal suffrage can do its work, and equally true it is that universal suffrage may then possibly lag behind the liberal policy of the virtual dictator. But we see no great reason for alarm in this protraction of suspense in the case of Spain. The administration is probably as united and powerful as ever it will be, and a Constituent Assembly, elected under Prim's auspices, will probably register his present edicts in the first flush of its consciousness of authority. To guide the people of Spain it may be necessary to use a light and deferential hand, so that they may believe that they are left to their own guidance. It is wisest at times to say to nations, as to individuals, "It is not for me, but for you, to decide your affairs. Do as you think best with your own. I will not presume to dictate where I have no authority. But if you ask my opinion I will give it to the best of my judgment."

It is after some such fashion as this that General Prim is dealing with Spain. He probably knows her idiosyncrasies much better than some of his foreign advisers. A glance, a gesture, a nod, may answer the ends he has in view more surely and more effectually than a word of command. Thus, he intimates to a foreign journal that a limited monarchy is a necessity for Spain, and the people will most likely agree with him, and cease to entertain the question of a Republic. It may be that he has fixed upon the most likely occupant of the vacant throne but he will in that case take care not to disclose his wishes prematurely. Meanwhile, the country is in his hand, with its own hearty consent, as molten wax under the fingers of the artificer. We have some faith in the genuineness of his patriotism—much more than we once had in his sagacity as a statesman. May he be successful in carrying out his work of national reconstruction according to the ideal he has of it in his own mind!

THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS.

ABOUT the time that the fate of the Disraeli Government, and what is of infinitely more consequence, the future ecclesiastical policy of this country, is to be decided at the polling-booths, our American cousins will be engaged in choosing their President for the next four years. It is not often that appeals to the popular suffrage on questions of such magnitude

are made simultaneously to two kindred nations. Though the votes of the House of Commons last Session were so decisively in favour of Irish disestablishment, the mode in which it is to be carried out will depend upon the issue of the coming election. If only in order that this act of justice may be quickly and completely performed, it is necessary that Mr. Gladstone's majority should be overwhelming. In like manner the approaching Presidential election will ratify or condemn in an unmistakable manner the reconstruction policy of Congress. It is the first general appeal to the nation since the untimely death of Mr. Lincoln. In America, as in England, the Executive is opposed to the popular will; in both countries supreme power is lodged in the hands of a minority, an anomaly which can only be removed by an appeal to the electors; in neither case is there any reason to doubt the character of that decision.

Though the autumn elections which precede the choice of a President in the United States are not absolutely conclusive, they indicate with some approach to certainty the ultimate result. Since the State of Maine some few weeks ago cast its vote in favour of the Republicans, every subsequent election has ratified the policy supported by Congress. Some of the most important of these contests took place last week. In Ohio, one of the great Western States, the influence of which every year increasingly controls the policy of the United States, the Republicans carried the "State ticket" by a majority of about 27,000, and have chosen thirteen out of nineteen new members to Congress. In Indiana, though by a reduced majority, the same party have elected the State officers and two-thirds of the representatives to Washington. A similar success awaited them in Iowa and Nebraska. But the most decisive victory of the Republicans has been gained in Pennsylvania, the decision of which is generally regarded as anticipating the result of the Presidential election. The "Keystone State" has elected the entire list of Republican candidates for local offices, and sent to Congress eighteen out of twenty-four members in support of the reconstruction policy of the majority. This vote is the more important, as the last elections of this State were decidedly in favour of the Democrats, after a close struggle. A majority of about 20,000 shows the voice of this influential State to be strongly on the side of the Republicans. These elections have, on the whole, greatly strengthened the majority in both branches of the national legislature.

The effect of these Republican successes will be decisive in the South. It is an unmistakable indication that the North is resolved to secure the fruits of the victory gained over the rebellious States, and to complete the work of reconstruction which was retarded by the obstinacy and folly of President Johnson. By the defeat of their Democratic allies in the Northern States, the Southern aristocracy have lost their last chance. For some months past local legislation in some of these States has been of a reactionary kind. The equality of rights proclaimed by Congress has been denied by several of the State Legislatures. The coloured representatives chosen in Georgia, for instance, have been declared to be ineligible, and the old slavery spirit has in many places been manifested in the social hardships inflicted on the negro. The late elections will put an end to this reaction. Mr. Johnson can no longer help and encourage the Southern planters in resistance to the decisions of Congress, and the task of reconstruction will be resumed and completed in accordance with the principles of justice and equality.

The discouraged Democrats can now only expect almost certain defeat at the Presidential election. Their candidate, Mr. Seymour, was one of the worst who could have been chosen to fight their battle, and the willingness of himself and his supporters to tamper with the National Debt has increased his unpopularity in the North. Hopeless of defeating General Grant with their present nominee, the Democrats are said to be anxious to withdraw him and substitute Chief Justice Chase in his place. But that high-minded politician will hardly be likely to head a forlorn hope, or expect any good result from changing front in the face of the enemy. Nor does the Chief Justice accept all the principles advocated by the Democratic party, and he has emphatically disclaimed any sympathy with the policy of repudiation. Perhaps if that eminent lawyer had been originally proposed as the Democratic candidate, it might have been possible to have carried him into the Presidential chair. But the blunder made by his friends in choosing Seymour and Blair to fight their battles is now irreparable; and there is every prospect that in

a few weeks General Grant will be the President-elect of the United States, that the protracted conflict between the Executive and the Legislature will at length come to an end, and that all sections of politicians will unite in a just and liberal policy which will bring to a close the exceptional state of things in the Southern States.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

MR. GLADSTONE IN LANCASHIRE. LIVERPOOL.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Gladstone, accompanied by Mr. Grenfell, his fellow candidate in the Liberal interest for the representation of South-west Lancashire, delivered the second address in the political campaign in the Amphitheatre, at Liverpool. Mr. W. G. Hornby presided, supported by the Right Hon. W. N. Massey and Mr. W. Rathbone, the Liberal candidates for Liverpool; Capt. Sherard Osborne, R.N. the Liberal candidate for Birkenhead; Mr. H. G. Thompson, one of the Liberal candidates for South-east Lancashire; Mr. G. Melly, M.P., and Colonel Roden, the Liberal candidates for Stoke-upon-Trent; the Hon. Captain Molyneux, &c. Mr. GRENFELL first addressed the meeting, and was very warmly received.

Mr. GLADSTONE, on rising, met with a most tremendous ovation. The right hon. gentleman, after a few words of warm commendation of the abilities, principles, and zeal of his fellow-candidate, said that he had only recently fully vindicated the financial policy of the Liberal party, and substantiated his charges of needless extravagance against the present Government. He insisted that the Government of Earl Russell in 1866 was bound to take up the question of Reform after the pledges given on the hustings at the previous election by every Liberal member, and although the bill of 1857 was a grand popular triumph in spite of the wishes and objects of its promoters, whose vacillating and feeble efforts he sarcastically denounced, in its original shape it was the worst Reform Bill ever introduced, and one deserving the censure of Parliament, for under the name of progress it was really a measure of reaction, and whilst professing to enlarge the influence of the excluded classes, it really narrowed and restricted it. He reviewed with ridicule the rapid and extraordinary changes through which the bill had passed, and insisted that it was with no honest intention of enlarging popular influence that the present Government addressed themselves to the question of Reform. He then pointed out his objections to the bill as it now stood, especially denouncing the restrictive operation of the ratepaying clauses, and also the representation of minorities, which was now generally regarded as a common nuisance in the places in which it was to be applied. Out of the ten principal points of the bill, nine, he said, were carried against the Government, and the only relic upon which they could claim to be its authors was the personal payment of rates. He had read with infinite amusement the speech of the Prime Minister at the Edinburgh banquet, in which he laid down five great principles as the basis of the policy of the Conservative party in dealing with the question of Reform, and he was glad to find that the education of the Conservative party had been so far so complete that every one of those principles had been abandoned; the personal payment of rates, to which the Government had clung with such tenacity, was the realising of the bill. It did not matter in the least who paid the rates as long as they were paid in some one's name, and he believed it would tend to a great increase of corruption by an arrangement between the landlords and the occupiers. The whole of the clauses with respect to the payment of rates and the compound householders would require to be remodelled, and it would be the first duty of the new Parliament to take them in hand. The right hon. gentleman then proceeded to the question of Ireland, which he urged imperatively required dealing with at once. Hitherto they had tried a policy of coercion and class ascendancy, and although as regards the former policy its stringency had been greatly modified of late years, the latter policy was still prevailing in full force, but the time was now come when they must pay the full debt that they owed to Ireland, and attempt to govern on the principles of perfect equality, generosity, and justice. The right hon. gentleman having spoken an hour and three-quarters, sat down amidst tremendous cheers.

A resolution expressing confidence in Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Grenfell, as the Liberal candidates for the division, was passed by acclamation. The Hon. Mr. Molyneux, Mr. Massey, Capt. Sherard Osborne, and others also addressed the meeting.

NEWTON.

Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Grenfell, the Liberal candidates for the South-Western division of Lancashire, addressed a crowded meeting of the electors on Saturday at the Town Hall, Newton Bridge. Mr. Gladstone's speech was principally devoted to criticism of the Irish Church Commissioners' report. He said he had been charged with raising the public expenditure question to enable him to shirk the Irish Church discussion, and he would now prove the falsehood of that charge. The right hon. gentleman examined the several recommendations of the report, going into figures at great length to show that no reform was practicable upon such bases which would not leave matters worse than they are at present. He ridiculed the proposition to give Irish bishops 600l. a year as travelling expenses when it happens to be their turn to attend the House of Lords, as a

revival of one of the points of the charter—the doctrine that members of Parliament ought to be paid. He did not, he would have it understood, blame the commissioners; they had done their best, but their task was an impossible one. "If a man says, 'I will jump over the Thames,' and happens unfortunately to alight in the middle, it does not follow but that he may be a very good jumper." Mr. Gladstone said he had never been able to get any intelligent explanation of the proposal to suppress benefices where there should be only forty Protestants. That meant, according to the average of church attendance, that wherever there were fourteen people to go to church there the church should be kept up. It was, indeed, proposed to consolidate clerks and gravediggers, but he thought we had got beyond that. The proposition to suppress the Protestant clergyman altogether in the wild districts of the west was, however, still worse. Hitherto it was admitted on all hands that the peasantry had benefited by the presence of the Protestant clergyman, though they rejected his spiritual services, but to take the tithe out of a parish of Galway or Clare for the purpose of meeting the wants of a Protestant population in Dublin or Belfast, was, in his opinion, whatever the intention might be, dangerously like an act of public plunder. In further remarks Mr. Gladstone cited some calculations of the Rev. W. Maziere Brady, D.D. Dr. Brady gives the case of fourteen benefices in Ireland. In each of these fourteen benefices, besides the incumbent, there is a curate, and the curate upon the average receives 100 guineas a year, and the population of the fourteen benefices is 1,332 souls of the Irish Established Church. But the 1,332 souls have fourteen curacies to look after them, independent of the incumbents—rather a liberal allowance. If that rule were applied to the town of Liverpool, the town of Liverpool would be equipped with between five and six thousand clergymen. But over and above the 100 guineas paid to the curates, there is the income received by the incumbents, and the income of the fourteen parishes is 8,192l. Dr. Brady upon this observes that considering the fourteen curacies and the souls, that 8,000 and odd pounds is received for doing no work at all. Now, how did the Commissioners propose to remedy this abuse! With respect to those churches, under the recommendations of the Commissioners, nothing will take place as yet. Their recommendations will not take effect until one generation has gone by, because life interests have to be respected. But if we have patience to wait about thirty or forty years the recommendations of the Commissioners will probably have taken effect, and out of these fourteen churches five will have ceased to exist. That is to say, they will cease to exist as benefices, and then there will remain nine, and the nine will present this picture:—There will be nine benefices with 1,772 people amongst them—not apiece, but amongst them. There will be nine curates at 100 guineas a year each to take care of these 1,772 people. That is about thirteen apiece, and, said Mr. Gladstone, I think they will be able to manage that. There will be nine incumbents having nothing to do, because the curates will do what is necessary, and they will receive for doing nothing 5,639l., in a Church out of which all the abuses have been removed. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone entered elaborately into statistics to prove the entire failure of the Establishment as a missionary Church. It was alleged in a pamphlet that besides the Episcopalians there were 200,000 Nonconformists in Ireland:—

It appears then, after all, that the Church of Ireland does not exist in Ireland for the purpose of maintaining the light and glory of the Reformation, as Mr. Gathorne Hardy says. (Laughter.) But that the business of the Church of Ireland is to convert stray Nonconformists, and to bring them back to the fold. (Laughter and cheers.) Now, this really is a discovery—it is a magnificent discovery. (Laughter and cheers.) It seems to shift the whole state and position of affairs; it gives you a new point of view, as they call it, and it is a most serious matter if, after all the consideration we have already given to this matter, which we thought lay mainly between the Church of Ireland and the people of Ireland, we are to be told that it does not lie between them at all—that it is admitted the Church of Ireland has failed wholly, utterly, miserably, as regards the majority of the people of Ireland, who are Roman Catholics, but that it has had a magnificent success, and that these unfortunate Presbyterians, who were more than two to one to Church people two hundred years ago, are now somewhat less than Church people in number. Therefore, gentlemen, pray consider it as an anti-Protestant propaganda you are invited to enter upon. (Laughter and cheers.) That is the answer they give. I believe that to be the only answer. But I must also tell you this, that if it were true, it would not be a very good answer. I suspect the six or seven millions of Nonconformists in this country, and the three millions of Presbyterians in Scotland, and the half a million or more of Presbyterians in Ireland, will not be particularly well pleased with this new view of the position of the Church, the friends and advocates of which, in days when things are quiet, are apt to turn what is called the cold shoulder to the Presbyterians—but of late there are a portion of them, particularly the active politicians, who make the most warm and moving appeals to the Presbyterian body, and entreat them to put shoulder to shoulder, and confront the enemy in the field, in the name and for the sake and for the interests of their common Protestantism. (Cheers.) The explanation is this—but I must not go at length into it. In Ireland, in the beginning of the 17th century—it is difficult indeed to trace minutely the confused ecclesiastical history of the country, which at that time was but half organised—but it is well known that a large portion of the parishes and incumbencies of the country—a very large portion, indeed, of Ulster, and some parts, I believe, beyond it, were in the hands of Presbyterians, and, of course, therefore the Presbyterians counted at that time as a very large number in proportion to the

members of the Church. And it is perfectly true up to a certain point that by the fact of becoming Episcopalian—by the fact having Episcopalian government placed over the parishes as the Episcopalian government became uniform throughout the country, instead of having a Presbyterian government placed over them—it is true that a number of persons came to be counted as Episcopalians who before that had been counted as Presbyterians. Now that is the explanation. There is no truth in the allegation that the Irish Church has been successful in putting down Dissent either by force or persuasion. (Cheers.) It has been successful in putting down nothing. (Loud cheers.) But it has been very successful in putting up something. It has put up agitation; it has put up controversy; it has put up, as I have shown, in comparison with Protestantism, the Roman Catholic religion, which has thriven, and does thrive, under that sense of civil injustice which makes all its professors who are loyal men rally round it with a determined adherence. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, our motto is, "Be just, and fear not." Do you approve that motto, or do you not? (Cries of "Yes," and loud cheers.) It may be that we have strong interests arrayed against us. Never mind. What we shall do, gentlemen—my hon. friend near me (Mr. Grenfell) and I—is this: we shall use the slender means in our power of laying out the truth and the reason of the case before you. (Cheers.) Having done that, as we shall do it, from place to place, we appeal to you for aid, to lay aside all timid fears and apprehensions, to be on your guard against mistake and delusion—to put on the courage of Englishmen. (Cheers.) Nay, more, I will add, to clothe yourselves with that sense of equity which ought to distinguish every Christian, and to carry our cause onwards to a speedy triumph. (Great cheering, amid which the right hon. gentleman resumed his seat, having spoken for an hour and a quarter.)

Mr. GRENFELL afterwards addressed the meeting, and a vote expressive of confidence in the two candidates was carried by acclamation.

BRADFORD ELECTION.

On Thursday night Messrs. Forster and Miall addressed a meeting of the electors of the South Ward in St. George's Hall. The admission was regulated by ticket, and the hall was well filled. The chair was occupied by Alderman Rawson, who impressed on the electors the necessity of working hard and not ceasing to use every energy with the object of obtaining victory until four o'clock on the polling day.

Mr. FORSTER, M.P., then rose to address the meeting, and was received with loud cheering. After a passing reference to his connection with Mr. Miall, the hon. gentleman stated that he intended that night to refer to political questions of importance and urgency which now occupied the attention of the public. (Applause.) It was said that the great increase in the suffrage that had just taken place would give greater power to Parliament to do its work. He hoped that might turn out to be the case; and he believed it would be so. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The questions that must be settled, or at all events ought to be settled, in the next session of Parliament were of a most important character. (Hear, hear.) First and foremost, there was the Irish Church question. (Cheers.) He trusted that question would be solved by the removal of the grievance which, more than any other, has tended to make and to keep Ireland disloyal, and has tended to make difficult a really hearty union between England and Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Forster then referred to the Irish land question. With regard to the Reform Bill, although it might not be possible to complete the measure during the next session of Parliament, measures could at all events be adopted to undo some of the harm that was done with the Reform Bill. (Hear, hear.) The ratepaying clauses must be set right—(cheers)—the minority provision must be abolished, and the redistribution of seats placed on a more satisfactory basis. (Cheers.) Then as to the ballot, (Loud cheers.) The ballot appeared to have reached the turning point of its history. A great number of men of the highest possible character and of the greatest influence, who hitherto have been opposed to the ballot, acknowledged that the approaching election was the last test, and stated that if with the extended suffrage, bribery and illegitimate influence be still used, they would come round, although reluctantly, to a trial of the ballot. (Cheers.) Having alluded to the education question, the speaker explained his views on the licensing system. He sympathised a good deal with both sides:—

He sympathised with the licensed victuallers—with those of them, and he knew there were many such, who wished to conduct their trade with decency and with order—he sympathised with them in the dislike they had of so much interference on the part of the Legislature; and he also sympathised, perhaps to a greater extent, with that large body of men who, seeing the horrible evils resulting from drunkenness, were anxious to use every means in their power to stop it. (Hear, hear.) The question, however, must be dealt with at once, and there were certain principles which he thought might be laid down in regard to it. The first was that this interference with the trade in drink must be kept up—(cheers)—and so far the licensed victuallers agreed with them; they also were of opinion that the trade should be regulated by the State. In the next place the restrictions on the trade should be in the hands of those who are responsible for the peace of the country, the magistrates. (Hear, hear.) On that point he was sorry to differ from his great leader, Mr. Gladstone, who made what he considered a mistake in giving the power of granting wine licenses to the excise. Winehouses and beerhouses should be placed under the magistrates; and as to the conditions on which the licenses should be granted, he thought that a greater test as to character should be obtained, and that better regulations should be made with regard to the police inspection of these houses. (Hear, hear.) He also was of opinion—and this was the qualification he referred to in his answer to the first question—that the neighbouring rate-

payers should have some voice with regard to the increase of public-houses. (Cheers.) He would not grant a power of actual prohibition, but he thought they ought to have power to diminish the number of houses, or at all events to prevent their increase. (Cheers.)

After advocating the extension of the Factory Acts to the agricultural districts; and referring to the questions of international law brought under the notice of the Royal Commissions on which he lately sat, Mr. Forster concluded by calling on the meeting seriously to consider the subjects he had brought before them, and to give their support to the two men out of the three candidates who they thought the most likely to help forward their satisfactory settlement. (Cheers.)

Mr. E. MIALI next spoke, and was received with loud and repeated plaudits. He said that a general election should be regarded as a great teaching dispensation, and never, he believed, in the history of the country, had there been such a great political education going on as in the present contest. (Hear, hear.) He was about to speak on three subjects, the relations of labour to capital, the tenure of land in Ireland, and retrenchment in our national expenditure. (Applause.) If the law with regard to the first was not sufficient, he would do his best to have the law altered, and the principle upon which he would act would be to give equal rights and privileges to employers and employed, as well in regard to the funds of trades unions as of anything else. (Applause.) He was in favour of a thorough system of national education, unsectarian and undenominational, and regretted that working men could hardly go to Parliament under the new Reform Bill as at present constituted. (A voice: "Payment of members.") He was afraid that if members were paid, a seat in Parliament might degenerate into a profession, and he would not like that. (Applause.) Alluding to the short time movement, he read an article from the *Nonconformist*, written in 1844, to show that it would be to the advantage of the country if the labour of the working classes was limited to eight hours a day. (Loud applause.) He would now go on to the Irish land tenure system. After explaining the circumstances under which he brought the question forward that evening, and disclaiming any idea of putting forward any grand scheme for the proper tenure of land in Ireland, Mr. Miall continued—

Ireland had the misfortune or the good fortune, he did not know which, to have an extremely moist climate, and was therefore unfit for the producing of those agricultural fruits which were better produced in dry climates. That was a natural disadvantage which Ireland had to sustain. It was not naturally, and it could not be made, a grain-producing country. It was naturally a pastoral country, for the raising and rearing of stock. But that would have been nothing of a difficulty, supposing the hand of misgovernment had not intervened. Most of the difficulties which surrounded this Irish land question had risen out of the oppression of former ages. They did not know whether the Irish would not have accepted the same ideas and the same customs relative to the tenure of land as prevailed in England, if they had not been treated rudely and ruthlessly by the mailed hand of power. Much of the perplexity at the present moment arose from this, and from the fact that the greater part of the land of Ireland had been confiscated, and transferred from those who were the original possessors to those who were of another race and another religion. (Cheers.) He supposed that, during the time between the settlement of Ulster under James I., and the confiscation that took place under the Commonwealth, two-thirds of the land in Ireland belonged to the Roman Catholics, and one-third to the Protestants; and after those most unmerciful proceedings of the Protector, whom yet for many other things he revered—after the confiscations of his day, it came to this, that two-thirds was in the hands of the Protestants, and one-third in the hands of the Catholics. After this came William III. and his penal laws, which did not exactly confiscate lands, but gave a premium to any son in a family to declare himself a Protestant, that he might become the legal heir of all the property of the family. Could they wonder that when the land was thus transferred from those landowners who acknowledged the faith of the great majority, and violently made over by confiscation to those who held the faith of the minority, could they wonder at the difficulties in the settlement of the subject? He believed that at present not above one-sixth of the land—though there might have been some slight increase lately—that not above one-sixth of the land in Ireland belonged to Roman Catholic landlords. Well, that made one difficulty, and probably out of that arose another special feature—that of an absentee proprietary. As Mr. Forster had said, there could not be any hope of prosperity in Ireland until there was much closer association than there was at present between the tiller of the soil and the soil itself. Men who were living in comparative luxury in England or on the continent, and felt that property devolved on its possessors no responsibility to those who cultivated it—who drew from it nothing but rent, and returned to it nothing, not even their presence—such men as these created in the minds of the Irish this idea—that their right to the blessings that sprang from the cultivation of the earth was being interfered with, by legal methods it might be, but by methods that were not sanctioned by the principles of justice. (Cheers.) Hence there had obtained in Ireland this practice—that whereas in this country there were frequently great improvements of the land by the landlord, in Ireland there was no improvement, except such as was made by the tenant. And now he came to the mention of one or two objects at which they must aim. Mr. Miall referred to the special difficulties which, as he had shown, surrounded the question, and which called for special legislation. One of the objects at which he would aim was this, that improvements made by the tenant should not be within reach of the landlord to take them out of the possession of the tenant. (Cheers.) There was no more criminal thing than to avail one's self as landlord of the exigencies of a tenant, and come down upon him and spoliage him of all that he had put into the soil for his future profit without giving him any compensation. That was

one thing they had to do. He knew the difficulties by which the question was completely surrounded; but if they had reduced Ireland to an exceptional condition of misery, and he might say of beggary—if they had done that, they were bound to go out of their path to bring Ireland back to the true area of legislation. (Cheers.) Another object at which they ought to aim was not simply that the tenant should be compensated for any improvements he might have made in the land, supposing that he were evicted, but also that he should have security of tenure. He knew the great difficulty of attaining this: but this he would do if he went to Parliament,—he would keep this idea of a security of tenure before him, and would give all the support in his power to any provision in any bill which might be introduced into the House, which while meeting all the dictates of justice and satisfying all the demands of prudence, nevertheless pointed to, if it did not ensure, security of tenure. He should like what was the tenant custom in Ulster to become the law all over Ireland—a tenant-right, but sheltered and guarded in such a way that it should not work more mischief than it did good. He should like very much to see some encouragement given to the population of Ireland to redeem that portion of waste land which was capable of being brought into cultivation. He believed that they ought to be assisted in that, and he really thought that there could not be a better appropriation of the funds which shall accrue from the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church—funds which will probably amount, after they had satisfied all personal interests to thirteen millions—he did not think that money could be employed to better effect than in assisting the Irish poor in the redemption of that waste land by cultivation, and in the course of twenty years, or a generation or two, to expect from them rent for the land which they enjoyed. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

He had intended to have gone into the retrenchment of the expenditure of the country, but as he felt rather exhausted, and had gone to great length with the other questions, he would defer the consideration of the subject to a future occasion when they would meet again in the hall. He had said at the outset that this election had been a great teaching dispensation, and it was an educational process alike to the candidates as to the electors. (Applause.) In conclusion, he said that if sent he would do his best, but if he was not sent it would relieve him of a heavy charge. (Hear, hear.) But he trusted for the sake of the principles dear to them all that they would not fail—(applause)—and that they would return him as the representative of their opinions upon the question which had come down to them for settlement, and that Mr. Gladstone may be cheered, as he thought he would be cheered, by the news on the day of election that a seat had been secured in one of the largest and most intelligent boroughs in favour of the principles embodied in his resolutions. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Councillor BOOTHROYD moved, and Mr. J. KERSHAW seconded, a resolution in favour of Messrs. Forster and Miall, and pledging the meeting to secure their return. Mr. MOLLOY, an Irishman, and a Roman Catholic, supported the resolution, characterising as an insult a pamphlet which had been sent to every Roman Catholic elector, containing extracts from Mr. Miall's writings with reference to the Catholic Church. He considered it was wrong to endeavour to bring in religious matters when the question before them was purely political. He had hoped better things of Mr. Ripley till he had been informed by gentlemen in the town that one of the objects of Mr. Ripley, in inviting the Irish and Catholic voters to meet him at the Mechanics' Institute, was that he might read to them certain of these extracts to damage Mr. Miall. ("Shame"). If Mr. Ripley thought he could do that he was entirely mistaken. Mr. Miall would not lose an Irish or Catholic vote in consequence of those extracts. (Vehement cheering.) The speaker referred to the growth of intelligence of late years among the Irish, and said that a short time ago Irishmen were cartooned in the town as hideous monsters. Now they were cartooned almost like Englishmen themselves. If the Irish and Catholics had had that meeting to themselves in the Mechanics' Institute, they would have made Mr. Ripley sorry that he had ever called it. (Cheers.)

Mr. BURKE, another Irish elector, also addressed the meeting in a very telling and powerful speech. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried with great enthusiasm.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, on the vote of Mr. FORSTER, seconded by Mr. MIALI, terminated the proceedings.

AYLESBURY.—Mr. Howell, the secretary to the Reform League, continues his candidature against Mr. S. G. Smith, the sitting Conservative member, who offers himself for re-election. On Saturday afternoon a meeting of Mr. Howell's supporters was addressed by Mr. Edmond Beales, and a vote of confidence was passed.

BLACKBURN.—The Conservatives of Blackburn have issued a most audacious circular to the employers of labour in that town. From it we learn that at a meeting which has been held, "all mill-owners and their managers and over-lookers, and all master-tradesmen and others possessing influence, were strongly urged to exert that influence so as to secure in the municipal elections, as well as in the Parliamentary, the success of the candidates who adhere to the Constitution in Church and State." The circular goes on to assert that the people of this country enjoy under that Constitution "greater freedom" than any other nation; but the "Constitutionalists" must have queer ideas of freedom if they regard the application of the screw as one of the blessings arising from its possession.

BRISTOL.—On Monday the Liberal candidates, the sitting member, the Hon. F. H. F. Berkeley, and Mr. Samuel Morley, issued their addresses to

the electors, and it is understood that that of Mr. John William Miles, the Conservative, will follow almost immediately. Mr. Berkeley refers to his thirty-one years of service, and to a great extent confines his address to the manifestoes of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. He concludes by asking the men of Bristol to realise their opinions at the polling-booth. Mr. Morley congratulates the electors upon the addition of 5,000 fresh names to the list of voters, and believes there has been an overwhelming accession of Liberals. He renews with great confidence and pleasure the announcement that, in conjunction with their faithful representative, Mr. Berkeley, he will solicit their suffrages. In appealing to them, he contents himself with referring to "the marked contrast between the addresses of the two leaders—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli. The real difference between the two is stated in a word—the one has a policy, the other has not. Mr. Gladstone's address is frank and noble in its tone, fair in its explanation of his views, just and statesmanlike in its policy, and it is satisfactory in all the assurances it gives with regard to future measures. Mr. Gladstone regarded the Irish Church as a religious scandal, a political outrage, and a national injustice; and his party would propose its disestablishment and disendowment. On the other hand, Mr. Disraeli had announced no positive policy, and said nothing in defence of the Church in Ireland. He rested on the policy of his party, "No surrender!" and proposed to go to the country with the phantom cry of "No Popery!" and the "Church in danger!" But that cry Mr. Morley contends, has proved an utter failure, and he says he has no fear that it will influence the electors of Bristol, who, he confidently anticipates, will return him to Parliament.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS.—Mr. R. Sorton Parry, the working men's candidate for Bury St. Edmunds at the next election, has declined to continue his canvass, and Mr. Edward Herbert Bunbury, who formerly represented Bury, has consented to stand in his stead.

CANTERBURY.—A second Conservative candidate has started in the person of Mr. Lee Warner, of Walsingham Abbey, Norfolk. In his address Mr. Lee Warner says that at this important crisis he thinks it right that the electors of the metropolitan city should have an opportunity of recording their votes in favour of their National Church. He, therefore, at the invitation of a numerous and influential body of Conservatives, comes forward as their second candidate. It is said that the Liberal committee of this borough have determined on canvassing in favour of Mr. Butler Johnstone, one of the sitting members, and Captain Brinkman.

CARDIFF.—It is alleged that Lord Bute has not quite acted up to the letter and spirit of the fair professions of non-intervention at the election which won him so much favour lately at Cardiff and throughout the country. His agents have been most indefatigable in the registration court, working for the castle nominee, Mr. Giffard, and are now doing their utmost in his behalf, whilst other officials connected with the Bute estate are using their greatest exertions to promote the success of the Conservative candidate. It should be stated, however, that, according to the general belief, Lord Bute is not aware of what is going on.

CHESTER.—A new candidate has sprung up in the person of Dr. Bedford, of Bayswater, and formerly of Chester. There is only one Conservative candidate, Mr. Henry Cecil Raikes, who unsuccessfully contested the City in 1859. The three other candidates are Earl Grosvenor, Mr. E. G. Salisbury, and Mr. Richard Hoare.

COVENTRY.—Mr. Alexander Staveley Hill, Q.C., who unsuccessfully contested Coventry with Mr. Samuel Carter in March last, has come forward as the second Conservative candidate.

GLASGOW.—Sir George Campbell, Bart., of Garscube, has been asked to allow himself to be nominated as a candidate, and has consented, on condition of receiving reasonable assurances of support from the constituency. The politics of the Hon. baronet are Liberal-Conservative.

GLOUCESTER (WEST).—Mr. S. Marling, of Stanley Park, Stroud, who was spoken of as likely to become a candidate for West Gloucestershire in the Liberal interest, declines the honour.

GREAT MARLOW.—Colonel Peers Williams (Conservative), who has represented this borough, in which he has great influence, for forty-eight years, and is, we believe, the father of the House of Commons, has retired from the contest between himself and Captain Verney, the Liberal candidate. Colonel Brownlow Knox, Colonel Williams' colleague, has not again presented himself. Mr. Thomas Weatherhead, of a large brewers' firm in this town, and a Conservative, has issued an address. He has been an active supporter of Colonel Williams.

HERTFORDSHIRE.—It is now decided that a contest will be fought in this county, the Liberals having determined to bring forward another candidate with the Hon. H. Cowper against Mr. Abel Smith and Mr. Surtees.

KILKENNY.—Sir John Gray, at a meeting of his constituents in Kilkenny, referred particularly to the abolition of offensive oaths, and said he regarded the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland, now opened to Roman Catholics, as a typical office. On the first opportunity the Liberal party should "put a Catholic of high position into it," in order "to indicate to the whole people a total change of policy as well as law." Before many suns passed over, Sir John Gray added, Mr. Gladstone would be Prime Minister of England, and a new system of rule and law would be inaugurated in Ireland. There is talk of opposing Sir John.

KILMARNOCK BURGHS.—The papers publish a

correspondence between Mr. E. P. Bouverie, M.P., and Mr. Mill, M.P. Mr. Mill has been interfering in the election at Kilmarnock, acting, says the *Times*, apparently on his theory that it is the duty of a candidate to interfere with every election but his own, and to advise every constituency except the one whose suffrages he solicits. Accordingly Mr. Mill gave his support to Mr. Chadwick, a candidate previously unknown at Kilmarnock. As it is a considerable enterprise to turn out a man of Mr. Bouverie's long services and official experience, either Mr. Chadwick asked from Mr. Mill, or Mr. Mill volunteered to give to Mr. Chadwick, a letter recommending him to the electors as an opponent of Mr. Bouverie. On this has followed the correspondence. The *Times* argues that it is prejudicial to political interests to cashier representatives simply because somebody who is pronounced by somebody else to be a better man makes his appearance, and adds that Mr. Bright, who has a longer experience, and in politics a sounder head than Mr. Mill, gave expression to this feeling in his letter to Mr. Mill's protégé, Bradlaugh, with respect to the Northampton election.

LAMBETH.—Mr. Doulton has speedily followed the example of his colleague, Mr. Thomas Hughes, and withdrawn from the representation of Lambeth. There is, however, this difference, that while Mr. Hughes goes to a safe seat at Frome, Mr. Doulton assigns ill-health as a reason why he is unable to canvass so great a constituency, at the same time expressing a hope that the separation may be of only a temporary character. The only Liberals now in the field are Mr. Lawrence, the Lord Mayor elect, and Mr. M'Arthur. Mr. Morgan Howard, the "constitutional" candidate, is thus left face to face with an undivided Liberal party.

LANCASHIRE (NORTH-EAST).—The two Liberal candidates for this division, Mr. W. Fenton, of Rochdale, and Mr. U. J. Kay-Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe Hall, have finished their tour through the district, giving their last addresses on Saturday at Water, near Newchurch. Accrington, Over Darwen, Padiham, Great Harwood, Rawtenstall, and Bacup are comprised in the division, and very little doubt is entertained as to the result, all these places being of very Liberal tendencies.

LONDON CITY.—The registration has been a very triumphant one for the Liberals, and they fully expect to carry all four of their candidates. It may be remembered that at the last contested election Mr. Goschen, who was returned at the head of the poll, had a majority of 3,016 votes over Mr. R. N. Fowler, one of the two Conservatives, who was at the bottom, and Baron Rothschild a majority of 2,328 over Mr. Lyall, the other Conservative candidate. The Liberal Central Committee sits in Cheapside, directly opposite Bow Church, and in the immediate vicinity of Guildhall, with Sir B. Phillips, one of the most popular men in the City, as their chairman, Mr. Samuel Morley and Mr. Frederick Pattison as vice-chairmen, and Mr. Sidney Smith, the faithful and zealous champion of the party for more than twenty years, as their secretary. Local or sub-committees have also been or are being formed in the various wards of the city, twenty-five in number. On the other hand, the Conservatives have fixed their headquarters at the Guildhall Coffee-house, in Gresham-street, and are said to be working zealously. They are understood to be about to hold meetings in the various wards, and to canvass the resident electors. The Liberal Central Committee have received large promises of support from the constituency, and have requested the electors to repair to the committee-rooms of their various wards and districts, where every information will be supplied them. They are also about to convene an aggregate meeting for Friday. Meanwhile, they are distributing a printed form among the whole constituency, in one part of which the voter is asked to indicate the three out of the whole seven candidates, Liberals and Conservatives together, for whom he intends to vote; or, as an alternative, he has the option of signing a form, as a perfectly voluntary act on his part, stating that he is prepared to distribute his votes as the Liberal Electors' Central Committee or the Liberal committee of his district may consider best calculated to secure the return of the four sitting members—Rothschild, Crawford, Goschen, and Lawrence.

LYMINGTON.—On Friday evening a meeting of the Liberal electors of this borough was held at the Assembly-rooms, the Rev. W. Field, M.A., in the chair, when addresses on the great political questions of the day were delivered by Mr. George Potter, of London, and Mr. Daniel Pratt, of Cuckfield, Sussex. The meeting was very crowded. At the close of the proceedings a vote pledging the meeting to support Mr. Pratt at the ensuing election was unanimously passed. Mr. Pratt has issued his address, which is not of the common and hackneyed kind, but contains a strongly defined and honest political programme. It will be found in another column. The circumstances of the borough are altogether peculiar. An arrangement seems to have been made to hand the representation over to Lord George Gordon Lennox, a Conservative, though for many elections past the Liberal interest has always been predominant. The new franchise has added about 300 names to the voting list, and it was felt that a constituency of 700 electors ought not to be thus bartered away by a small clique of so-called agents. The result of this state of feeling has been to give a warm welcome to Mr. Pratt, who is now the recognised candidate of the Liberal party, and who, indeed, stands an excellent chance of being returned.

NORTHAMPTON (NORTH).—The Hon. F. H. Vernon, the Liberal candidate, has withdrawn. It is supposed that another will be put forward in his

place, the Liberals having gained largely on the registrations.

NORTHAMPTON.—A meeting was held at Northampton on Monday night on the occasion of the present members—Lord Henley and Mr. Charles Gilpin—addressing the electors for the first time since the prorogation of Parliament. The meeting was called by the supporters of those gentlemen, but Mr. Bradlaugh and Dr. Lees, the two extreme Radical candidates, having announced their intention of being present, the Town-hall, in which the meeting was held, was filled with a dense crowd long before the time fixed for the commencement of the proceedings. The chair was occupied by Mr. J. M. Vernon, the president of the "Liberal Association." Mr. Gilpin, as senior member, first addressed the meeting, and was constantly interrupted by the uproar which was kept up by the supporters of Mr. Bradlaugh. The hon. gentleman, speaking at intervals, said, with reference to the Reform Bill, that everything that was good in it was owing to the Liberals, and every thing that was bad in it was owing to the Tories. One of their first efforts in the new Parliament must be to reform the Reform Bill, and to get rid of the personal payment of rate clauses. On the question of the Irish Church, he was happy to say that all four candidates were agreed. With his whole heart he supported the disestablishment of that Church. He was not, therefore, however, to be told that he was careless of the interests of Protestantism; but should the House of Lords again negative the vote of the House of Commons for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, he would himself bring forward a motion for the expulsion of the bishops from that House. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Lord Henley. Dr. Lees and Mr. Bradlaugh also spoke: the latter called for a show of hands, which was largely in his favour.

NOTTINGHAM.—It is said that the Liberal committee has accepted the offer of Mr. Bernal Osborne to refer the claims of the respective candidates to arbitration, and that they have named Mr. John Stuart Mill as arbitrator. Mr. Merriman declines to accede to this course.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.—Sir Roundell Palmer has formally accepted the invitation to stand, and is supported by an influential committee. There is no doubt that he will have the great majority of the resident voters. Mr. Mowbray has also a good committee. Archdeacon Denison, who is of course in a state of intense activity, declares that Sir R. Palmer's opinions on the Irish Church are absurd and impious; but this will hardly dispose of the right honourable gentleman.

PETERBOROUGH.—Mr. W. Green, of Stormont House, Clapton, has now issued his address to the electors of this borough, offering himself as a candidate in response to a requisition from some four hundred of the electors. He appeals specially to working men for support, and announces a Radical creed. On ecclesiastical questions Mr. Green says—

I would give my hearty support to Mr. Gladstone in his efforts to disestablish and disendow the English Church in Ireland; it is, in its present position, an injustice and insult to her, and one of the greatest impediments to the progress of Protestantism in that country, and to the quiet and happiness of her people. I would also withdraw the Grant from Maynooth, and the *Regium Donum* from the Presbyterians.

Being a thorough Nonconformist, I should feel it immoral on my part if I did not state that I am in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Episcopal Church in this country, because I believe her connection with the State interferes with the righteous and equal legislation for the whole people, but beyond all other reasons, that it impairs the spiritual life of her own children, by teaching them to rely on "carnal" instead of "spiritual" weapons for the fulfilment of her mission in the world as part of the universal Church, and prevents the union of religious activity amongst the different sections of the Church of Christ.

The subject of education is one in which I have taken a deep interest for many years, and I fail to see any necessity for either a compulsory or national system, which means more taxation in one form or other; but I would throw open the national universities for the whole people, and make the endowed schools fulfil the intentions of their founders.

PRESTON.—A new candidate has come forward for Preston in the person of Mr. Farries, of Child's-place, Temple, and of Stockton-on-Tees. Mr. Farries, who is well known in the borough, comes out as an advanced Liberal.

SHEFFIELD.—On Friday evening Mr. Roebuck attended a meeting at Cutlers' Hall, called by his executive committee as a meeting of the Cyclops workmen. Admission was by ticket. Great complaints were made before Mr. Roebuck appeared that a large body of persons had been admitted who had no connection with the Cyclops Works. Mr. Rushford, a working man, was called to the chair. Mr. Roebuck made a speech which was listened to with great attention. When he had finished, James Duffield, a workman at the Cyclops Works, made a vigorous protest against the presence in the room of large numbers of persons who were not employed at those works. Mr. Prior, another workman, made a speech in which he declared that the room was packed. Great clamour ensued, and Mr. Roebuck, without any explanation, left the room, accompanied by his friends and nearly half the meeting. The remainder of the meeting, composed of workmen at the Cyclops Works, continued the proceedings, and John Hardy moved a resolution that Mr. Roebuck had forfeited the confidence of the constituency, and that the electors of Sheffield would best discharge their duty by returning to Parliament the people's candidates, Mundella and Hadfield. This resolution was received with great applause. Mr. Hardy, in reference to Mr. Roebuck's tactics in visiting the various works and addressing men in the presence

of their employers, said that the Roebuck committee had covered themselves with immortal dishonour by originating and carrying out in that borough the principles of the Marlboroughs and the Portlands and the great landlord potentates of the country. He was making a speech to the effect that the working men in Sheffield would, in spite of these tactics, triumphantly develop the fact at the poll that they lived in a free country, when the meeting was brought to a sudden close by the gas being turned off. The workmen dispersed in order, crying "Shame!" upon those who had played them such a trick, and cheering for Mundella.

SURREY (EAST).—There is no opposition here to Mr. Locke King and Mr. C. Buxton, the Liberal candidates, who have just issued their addresses.

SURREY (MID).—Mr. Julian Goldsmid and Mr. C. H. Roberts, the Liberal candidates, are pursuing a successful canvass and holding meetings throughout the division. Messrs. Peek and Brodrick, the Conservative candidates, are also actively engaged in canvassing; Mr. Marsh Nelson, the "independent Liberal," is comparatively quiescent.

SURREY (WEST).—Mr. F. Pennington, of Broom Hall, Dorking, the new Liberal candidate, has nearly completed his canvass, and little doubt is entertained that he and Mr. George Cubitt, the present Conservative member, will be returned. Mr. Briscoe declares that he will go to the poll, but nearly all his old friends have deserted him. He has no committee, no agents, and his canvassing is very desultory and feeble.

SUSSEX (EAST).—The sitting members, Mr. J. G. Dodson and Lord Edward Cavendish, have issued addresses soliciting re-election. Both seats are threatened by the Conservatives, their candidates being Mr. M. D. Scott, a resident of Brighton and a deputy-lieutenant of the county, and Mr. Gregory, a London solicitor, who has lately bought an estate in the county.

TRALEE.—The O'Donoghue has issued his address to the people of Tralee, in which he says:—"The vast majority of Englishmen give a cordial assent to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Protestant Church, because, no matter what we may think of their religious opinions, or what they may think of ours, they love justice; they have learned that the endeavour to coerce the conscience of a nation is an undertaking as hopeless as it is wicked, and they advocate religious equality and toleration of religious differences as the only policy worthy of the Christian and the statesman. Mr. Gladstone, by carrying his famous resolutions, has inaugurated the reign of religious equality. Men of all creeds and all nations applaud his policy, and Catholic Ireland, with her bishops and clergy at her head, has recognised his services in the cause of justice. As your representative I have given Mr. Gladstone a loyal support, and in taking this course I am convinced I have done my duty by you, and by our common country."

TRURO.—Of the many election contests taking place few are more noteworthy than that at Truro between Mr. Passmore Edwards, a gentleman whose zeal on behalf of political and social progress is well known in London at any rate, and the wealthy local Conservative M.P., Mr. Williams, who again seeks re-election. The struggle promises to be a severe one, but we have reason to hope and believe that Mr. Edwards will finally be successful. He has created an immense sensation in the borough by the way in which he has taken his stand on principle alone, and dared to dispense with the corrupt machinery usually resorted to on such occasions. His allegiance to Mr. Gladstone is outspoken and sincere, and is evidently most acceptable to the new voters whom the Reform Bill has placed on the register. If the old Whigs support him his seat is safe; and they have nothing better apparently to urge against him, than the very creditable fact that he, Mr. Edwards, is a self-made man. His father was a carpenter in the neighbourhood of the borough in which the son is now the popular candidate.

WINDSOR.—A singular correspondence between Mr. Eykyn, one of the Liberal members for Windsor, and Colonel Richardson-Gardner, the Conservative candidate for that place, has been published. Colonel Gardner appears to have taken umbrage at the fact that several of Mr. Eykyn's friends had "offered to lay braggart wagers on the result of the election," and had withdrawn the bets on various pretexts after they were accepted. He therefore wrote to Mr. Eykyn, offering to wager 500*l.* that the hon. gentleman would not win the election and retain his seat. Mr. Eykyn briefly acknowledged the receipt of the letter, expressed his surprise as its contents, and without at all doubting the result of the election, declines to lay a wager on it.

WOODSTOCK.—The contest for this borough between Mr. H. Barnett, the present member, and the Hon. George Brodrick, the Liberal candidate, promises to be the most keen and exciting for many years. On Thursday evening a public meeting was held at Kidlington, Mr. Godden, a glove manufacturer, in the chair, when addresses were delivered by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, M.P. for Reading, the Hon. A. Herbert, and the Hon. G. Brodrick. This was one of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings which has been held in the borough, and at the conclusion a resolution was passed unanimously, pledging the electors present to use their best exertions to insure Mr. Brodrick's election.

WORCESTER.—After considerable negotiation a plan has been agreed upon for taking a preliminary poll of the electors, with the view of ascertaining which of the four Liberal candidates has the majority of votes. When this has been ascertained it has been arranged that the others shall retire, so as not to create a split in the party and so

give an advantage to the Conservative candidate. Mr. Laaslett, Mr. Sherriff, M.P., Sir Francis Lycett, Mr. T. R. Hill, and Mr. Airey, have agreed that a canvass shall be made for each Liberal candidate independently, under a certain superintendence, each party binding himself to abide by the result. The arrangement, as now resolved upon, was proposed by Sir Francis Lycett, and being the only plan he would agree to, the other Liberal candidates assented.

Literature.

LAST BLOWS AT THE IRISH CHURCH.*

Two of the works, the titles of which we place at the foot of this column, are by clergymen of the Established Church, and one is by a Congregational minister. The fact that three such publications, all advocating disestablishment and disendowment, have been issued in one week, is some sign of the intellectual activity which this great controversy has provoked. As we are nearing the crisis of the question, the warfare on both sides is becoming hotter and hotter. But it is also becoming more and more difficult to write anything new upon the subject. Yet these, the latest writers, have at least contrived to put old arguments with great freshness, and often to impart a new and strengthening element into the controversy. Last blows are sometimes the best, and Mr. Dyer, Mr. MacColl, and Mr. Trench have given the Irish Church some of the hardest and most wisely-delivered knocks that she has yet received.

Yet, we express our unfeigned regret that Mr. Dyer's work did not appear a little earlier. It is so comprehensive in design, and so full of matter, that it would have been of great help both to students and workers if it could have been in their hands say six months ago. The best service that we can do to our readers now is to tell them what it contains. Mr. Dyer essays to establish the following propositions:—

"I. That excepting benefactions made by private persons to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland the ecclesiastical property of the country is the property of the public, and that the Legislature has full right to employ it as may be deemed best for the national welfare.

"II. That if the disestablishment of the Irish Church would be for the welfare of Ireland, there is nothing in the Coronation Oath or in the compact of the Union of 1800 that can fairly stand in the way.

"III. That the establishment of the Church in Ireland, has been injurious to her spiritual life, an obstacle to her success, and, therefore, detrimental to religion.

"IV. That there is great reason to fear that the continuance of the Establishment would be detrimental to the Protestant religion.

"V. That for 700 years, when there was no Established Church, Evangelical religion flourished in Ireland more than it has done at any subsequent period.

"VI. That the history of other Churches justifies the expectation that disestablished Protestantism would be aggressive and flourishing.

"VII. That practically our choice appears to lie between two or three Establishments and none.

"VIII. That national religion is essential to national prosperity, but not dependent upon national Establishments."

These are the lines upon which the argument of the book is based. In endeavouring to prove his propositions, Mr. Dyer has made great use of Church authorities; and indeed we question whether there is not more writing of Churchmen in this work than there is of the Nonconformist author of it. In this consists a special value. On Church property, for instance, the argument, though not so full as it might be, is the argument of Churchmen; the past history of the Church is given in the words of Churchmen; and opinions about the Church are also conveyed in the same manner. Yet the work is thoroughly original. Mr. Dyer is possessed of a keen and searching logical faculty, good not only in detecting the weakness of a position, but good in establishing positive truth. There are some passages in the work in which the arguments of opponents are dealt with with unusual conclusiveness. Such is the case especially with the treatment of the question—Who pays for the Irish Church? We quote one paragraph upon this point, to show how Mr. Dyer can argue upon a somewhat difficult point:—

"Everybody quotes Sir C. Lewis as saying that tithes in Ireland involve no injustice, because they are 'of the nature of a rent charge.' No doubt Sir C.

Lewis was an able man, but it is difficult to see why we should be called upon to receive his dictum as infallible. But what do those who quote it mean? The words appear to be regarded by some as a most convenient and decisive method of settling the whole question—but do these same persons understand them? Have they explained them? The words which are supposed sufficient to silence and abash every opponent are: 'The grievance is commonly stated to be that the Roman Catholics are compelled to contribute by the payment of tithes to the support of a Church from which they differ. Now in fact the Roman Catholics, although they may pay tithes, contribute nothing, inasmuch as in Ireland tithes is of the nature, not of a tax, but of a reserved rent, which never belonged either to landlord or tenant.' The common defence of Irish tithes is, that the tenant does not pay them because they come out of the landlord's pocket; but here we are told that neither contributes anything, as they are of the nature of a reserved rent, which never belonged to landlord or tenant. Why? Because both came into possession or occupation of the property subject to this payment. Then if a man buys a farm subject to the property-tax, he may pay the tax, but he contributes nothing towards the public burthens, because that payment never belonged either to him or his tenant! 'Oh, but you mistake; the Irish tithes are not of the nature of a tax, but of a reserved rent.' So then you have the landlord paying rent. But what is the distinction between this rent and a tax? Is not tithes a payment levied without distinction and enforced by law for national objects or institutions? What is that but a tax? According to this, if Parliament were to pass a law enforcing upon the Irish people an additional tithe for the support of a Roman Catholic Establishment, after the death of all the present generation of owners and tenants, you might say of that additional tithe, in the words of Sir C. Lewis, 'Now in fact the Anglicans, although they pay the tithe, contribute nothing to Romanism, inasmuch as in Ireland tithes is of the nature, not of a tax, but of a reserved rent, which never belonged either to landlord or tenant.'"

We should like to quote more, especially the author's admirable remarks upon the nature of national religion; but this is a work to be bought by the reader. Mr. Dyer does throughout what he intends to do, and his book will be found to be of great value in this controversy.

Mr. MacColl's elaborate reply to the question, "Is there not a Cause?" would be more useful if there were a formal arrangement of the contents, or an index, head-lines, or table of some kind to enable persons who may have read it easily to recur to particular portions. As it is, the letter, which is more than two hundred pages long, produces a sort of breathlessness in reading. It is so good, so forcible, and it deals with such new materials that you do not want to stop, and you do not stop, as you go through; in fact, there is no place where you can rest. Want of good arrangement of materials, however, is not a defect in Mr. MacColl's most able pamphlet. It strikes you at first that this is a fault, but when you have read it through you see the consecutiveness of the whole, and how it is all intended to support one great position—that justice to ourselves and justice to Ireland require the disestablishment of the Church. Its most valuable contents consist in a searching review of the political histories of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli in reference to this question. Mr. MacColl shows how, for the last twenty-five years, Mr. Gladstone's mind has been growing in relation to the Church and State question, and how closely and naturally each step that the right hon. gentleman has taken has followed upon the other. The author follows him in his public speeches and public action with regard to the ecclesiastical questions which have been agitated, from his first Irish Church speech in Parliament in 1833, to his last Irish Church speech in Parliament in 1868. This portion of Mr. MacColl's work is done with great care and with most distinguished success. His vindication of the personal consistency of Mr. Gladstone is most interesting, and at the same time most triumphant. From Mr. Gladstone Mr. MacColl passes to Mr. Disraeli, of whom these are the first written sentences:—

"There is one character in English history which Mr. Disraeli has always held up to admiration as his *beau idéal* of a patriotic statesman. In season and out of season, in novels, grave political essays, and Parliamentary speeches, he has proclaimed 'the injured Bolingbroke' as his model of an English statesman, a very Bayard of politics, and, above all, a hero whom the generous youth of England ought to study and to copy. Now, who and what was Bolingbroke? He was at once the most brilliant orator, the most sparkling writer, and the most profligate nobleman of his age: in morals a shameless rake, in politics an unprincipled schemer, in religion an atheist; a corrupter of his country's morals, a traitor to his sovereign, and a blasphemer of his God. Such is the man whom Mr. Disraeli has avowedly and ostentatiously taken for his patron saint in politics, and whom he deliberately proposes as the tutelary guardian of our English youth. It is a trite remark that the character of the devotee becomes assimilated to that of the object of his worship, and Mr. Disraeli's political career is evidence enough that his hero's political morality has found in the admiring disciple a faithful exponent."

Mr. MacColl holds that Mr. Disraeli has a contempt of the English Church which is only a trifle less pronounced than "his scorn for the 'English aristocracy,'" and he does not advance these opinions without giving some proof of their being both accurate and well founded.

Mr. Disraeli's future career is thus shadowed forth:—

"Mr. Disraeli has waited to see how Churchmen would receive the recommendations of the Irish Church Commission, and having satisfied himself that the verdict is unfavourable, he has boldly cried 'No surrender.' By-and-bye he will have to face a hostile majority. He will then declare himself willing to bow to the clearly expressed will of 'those vigorous and robust' electors whose ignorance he belauded the other day as a 'safer' guide to legislation than the 'over-refinement and over-education' in which the higher orders are sunk. He will say again that, in his judgment, 'the time has arrived when the question of Ireland ought no longer to involve the fate of Ministers.' He will protest that he is not 'angling for a policy'—far from it; but he has unbounded confidence in the 'unerring instinct' of Parliament, and will be most happy to develop any policy which the collective wisdom of the House may suggest."

"Should this manoeuvre fail, as it is exceedingly likely to do, Mr. Disraeli will play his last card. He will outbid Mr. Gladstone. He will appeal to the extreme Liberationists. He will declare that 'no statesman can disregard with impunity the genius of the epoch in which he lives'; that 'the spirit of the age tends to' religious freedom; that it is a mistake to disestablish the Irish Church, but that if it is to be disestablished, it ought to be entirely disendowed, both because this will draw forth the self-sacrificing liberality of its members, which is now wasting itself 'in distant capitals' for want of objects at home on which to spend itself; and also because it would be dangerous to leave so powerful a corporation in possession of so much wealth when no longer under the control of the State. Finally, he will exclaim, in a burst of self-immolating patriotism, 'Pass this measure, and then turn us out, if you like'; forgetting that he has succeeded in persuading the House of Commons that to 'turn him out' is an operation which requires nothing short of a physical effort."

It is evident that if other clergymen are deceived by the Tory statesman, Mr. MacColl is not of their number. Mr. MacColl concludes this brave and outspoken pamphlet with the following pregnant reflection:—

"And now let me conclude with one reflection. It has been the besetting sin of the Church of England since the Reformation to present herself to the nation at large as the Church of a party rather than of the nation. The clergy have been ever ready to fight the battle of one party in the State, and have unfortunately opposed nearly every measure of beneficence and justice which the mass of the people regard with gratitude. What has been the consequence? Let the serried ranks of Dissent answer. I have some experience of the working classes, and I know that the opposition of our clergy to Reform generally, the fact that their influence is always cast in the scale of the Tory party, has done more than anything to alienate the affections and the confidence of the working classes. At the same time, it has been a matter of life and death with the Liberal party to weaken the Church, because the Church has always been their most formidable opponent. It was with great pleasure, therefore, that I read Archbishop Denison's avowal the other day at the Church Congress, that but a fraction of the English clergy have signed the petition against the disestablishment of the Irish Church."

This is what we have always said, and we are thankful if only one clergyman sees as Mr. MacColl now sees.

The last publication in our list is by an Irish clergyman, the Rev. F. F. Trench. His treatment of the question is conspicuously characterised by a fine sense of justice. His first position is that Irish Episcopalians are not doing as they would be done by—and when a clergyman has reached that position we may be sure of all that will follow. Mr. Trench is happy in brief and trenchant argument—that kind of argument which seizes and disposes quickly of the reasonings of an opponent. He deals very effectually with the "Protestant" line. Here is one quotation to the point:—

"It is quite possible, nay probable, that our disestablishment may lead to Roman Catholic priests lifting up their heads a little—I earnestly hope that it may—I should be much more hopeful of recommending my religion to one who felt himself on a perfect equality with me, than to one who scowled at me, and felt himself injured by my position as a religious teacher, favoured by the State."

"The State ought to profess the true religion. Of course it ought, and to practise it also. Statesmen, so far from being exempted from the obligation under which every individual lies to honour God with all his powers, have all those obligations increased by the position of influence in which they are placed. They are bound by the highest obligation to cultivate true religion in themselves, and to spread it at home and abroad as widely as possible. The only doubt which can arise is as to the means they should use for doing so: and the real question before us is, in what way ought the State to profess and practise its religion in Ireland. Ought the State to show its religion in Ireland by the appropriation of a fund which it holds in trust for the religious benefit of the nation, by appropriating it to the support of a system which, owing to circumstances over which the State has no control whatever, it believes to be injurious to the empire at large? Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? The object of an Establishment is the promotion of true religion, and if it can be shown, as the State thinks it can, that the Protestant Establishment in Ireland impedes truth, and is hurtful to the people both as to this world and the next, is it not an irreligious act on the part of the State to uphold it? Ought not the Protestant Church on purely religious grounds to be disestablished?"

Mr. Trench's pamphlet is one the extensive circulation of which within the next month would be of essential service. It should go wherever a Church Establishment defender makes his appearance.

* 1. *The Question of the Irish Church Calmly Considered: a Book of Facts, Testimonies, and Arguments.* By the Rev. WM. H. DYER. Longmans.

2. *Is there not a Cause? a Letter to Colonel Greville Nugent, M.P., on the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. With a Vindication of Mr. Gladstone's Consistency.* By the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A. Longmans.

3. *The Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland Shown to be Desirable, &c.* By F. F. TRENCH, M.A., Rector of Newtown, near Kells, Co. Meath. Hodder and Stoughton.

NEW BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.*

The approach of the book season is already heralded by the appearance of several story books for children. Of these we must begin to give some account betimes, as there are indications of a rich feast of dainties in store. To *Little Rosy's Voyage of Discovery* must be awarded a foremost place as a very treasure-house of romantic delights for the younger children. A full-sized quarto richly printed in sepia, with ravishing illustrations to mark the progress of the story, it will certainly delight and amuse those for whom it is especially designed, if it does not pleasantly recal to graver folk the illusions of juvenile ambition. Little Rosy has a cousin Charley, about two years her senior, who is old enough to read Robinson Crusoe and Captain Cook's Voyages, and who in a moment of happy inspiration starts a project of setting out for unknown regions, accompanied by his little cousin. A map is at once procured, and they set about to look for the countries that are yet undiscovered. This point is soon settled to their satisfaction, and forthwith they start on their adventurous journey provided with two slices of bread-and-butter, and a pear which would "do beautifully to eat in the desert countries." Rosy wants to take her seven dolls with her, but her cousin's prudence overrules such weak counsel, and she is limited to a wooden lamb. Through the hedge at the bottom of the garden, across a few fields, through some more hedges, and they are soon landed in the desert, where Rosy finds it hot enough to have recourse to the water-bottle; not so Charley, "who thinks there would be no glory in his journey unless he had sometimes been almost starved to death or parched up with thirst." A little more of this kind of adventure, provisions exhausted and overcome with fatigue, the reality of the situation begins to assert itself, and the travellers climb a hill to consider from that point of elevation the propriety of returning home. Meanwhile Charley's Papa had started on a voyage of discovery, and met the expedition on its return. The dragged appearance of Master Charley, hand in hand with Papa, at a later stage of the adventure, is "a caution."

Peggy; or the Adventures of a Threepenny-bit, is well adapted for children of any age, including even "old boys," as we have ourselves found. Moreover, the publishers have been artful enough to have it printed in exceptionally large type, which of course entraps many besides the younger children whom it avowedly addresses. The book also contains several good full-page woodcuts. The idea of making a coin or other itinerant article reveal the sights and sounds to which it has been witness is not a new one, and it is a rich vein to work in good hands. The author of the story before us has blended together in a very successful manner two elements, the combination of which gives it a moral value, as well as that which all children will readily ascribe to it by virtue of its unvarying interest. It is difficult to convey to children any idea of suffering and privation so as to create a real sympathy with the sufferers, and at the same time not to impair or imperil that fresh hopeful view, or rather sensation, of life which is the charm of childhood. Little Peggy is the only living child of a poor sick woman, whose husband is a drunkard. These are not promising materials to work upon. But the author has contrived in the manner of telling his story, and with the aid of certain colloquial arts which the young will quite appreciate, to throw around it a prevailing atmosphere of gleefulness and hilarity. Peggy is a sweet, loving child, and the mother whom she cheers and comforts with her innocent prattle and tender caresses, is such a mother as one would have said such a child must have. The dark figure of the drunkard must needs come into view, but there is evident care taken that he shall not wholly mar the picture. And then there is the bright home of a family in which there is no skeleton, a group of happy children and happy parents, to whom Peggy and her mother become known, and indebted in many ways, which it will be a pleasure to read.

In *Sketches and Anecdotes of Her Majesty the Queen and the Royal Family*, we have a studious compilation of everything that the loyal heart of a colonist has felt to minister to his and his neighbours' most laudable passion. It consists chiefly of anecdotes gathered from every available source of information relating to the Queen and the Royal Family, from the time when a Bishop of Montreal was privileged to see her in her nurse's arms to the departure of Prince Alfred from Australia a few months since. Some of these anecdotes are not generally known; others are the merest scraps of "Court" news, extracted from various newspapers. The author, Mr. Hodgins, is a Canadian, and apparently intended this little volume for the use of colonists alone; but there is little doubt that it will find its way to many a household in "Old England." It is illustrated with several woodcuts, and is on the whole a very suitable book for elder children.

The Story of a Round Loaf is a little fantastic in conception, but is well adapted to amuse the little ones, and teach some wholesome sentiments under the guise of an allegory. The illustrations are profuse, and some of the designs are very prettily drawn. We have found the volume a great attraction to children, who follow the

* *Little Rosy's Voyage of Discovery* (Seeleys). *Little Peggy and other Tales* (Cassell, Petter and Galpin). *Sketches and Anecdotes of the Queen, &c.* (Sampson Low, and Co.) *The Story of a Round Loaf*. (Seeleys).

adventures of the little hero in his strange journey with unflagging interest.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Ships and Sailors, Ancient and Modern. A Sketch of the Progress of Naval Art, with Historical Illustrations. By C. C. COTTERILL, B.A., and E. D. LITTLE, B.A. With Forty-two Engravings. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, London.) The sub-title of this book should have been the main title. There is very little about sailors in the book; only so much as serves "historically to illustrate the progress of naval art." It is a modest and an interesting little volume; a good deal of information lying scattered in dictionaries, general histories, and other works of reference, is here brought together, and presented in a somewhat attractive form. A boy getting hold of this book would probably not willingly put it away till he had read it through, and would afterwards indulge himself with many a glance at the parts of special interest to him. We regret that the progress of mercantile navigation is scarcely alluded to, and that exploring and scientific expeditions are unnoticed in it. All the enthusiasm of a boy ought not to be enlisted on the side of battle, even if the wars be patriotic and righteous. The latter part of the volume is not so carefully written as the former part; it bears the marks of carelessness and hurry. We know not if the whole edition has the sheet "S" defective, like the copy sent us. If so, the publishers ought to recall the edition, and, as far as they can, furnish buyers with new copies in place of the old faulty ones. Such a blemish is not creditable to Messrs. Seeley, nor to the authors. Its occurrence makes us wonder whether the editing of the volume was done by the authors, or whether it took place in the printing-office.

A Handbook of Poetry; being a Clear and Easy Guide, divested of Technicalities, to the Art of Making English Verse. By J. E. CARPENTER, Editor of "Penny Readings in Prose and Verse," "Popular Readings," &c. Author of Two Thousand Songs and Ballads, &c., &c. To which is added a New Poetical Anthology and a Concise Dictionary of Proper Rhymes, with Lists of Double and Single Rhymes, and terms used in Poetry. (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston.) This awkwardly-arranged and pretentious title-page is the introduction to a poor book. We do not know of any to whom the book could possibly be of use. If verse could be written mechanically, Mr. Carpenter might help to its manufacture; but his rules are such as a writer of the smallest perceptiveness must have already learned to follow, and his criticisms generally show only lack of judgment and of taste. The "New Poetical Anthology" is also poor. Its "gems of thought" are by no means all of the purest lustre; one wonders, in looking over the subjects treated here, how Mr. Carpenter has been able to avoid giving quotations better and happier than those he has selected. Mr. Carpenter cannot write good English; he would do well to familiarise himself with the "mechanism" of prose. We might almost open the book at random and find illustrations of his unfitness for the work he has undertaken. Thus he says that the rhyme of "is" with "kiss" is false, "according to modern accent." The falsity is of pronunciation, not of accent. He confounds the abstract with the concrete when he defines "Elegance.—In literature, any composition in which the sense is expressed in a happy, correct, and appropriate manner." He calls the plan of making the last two lines of a sonnet rhyme, "incorrect"; although in the very example he has chosen to illustrate what a sonnet is, Wordsworth has done this. The taste of Wordsworth, of Tennyson, and of Shakespeare may be considered as more trustworthy than Mr. Carpenter's dictum. We had marked other specimens of incorrect diction and of combined audacity and lack of taste; but the specimens we have already given will enable our readers to judge how far Mr. Carpenter is to be trusted as a "guide to the art of making English verse."

Properties of Conic Sections, proved Geometrically Part 1. The Ellipse. With an Ample Collection of Problems. By Rev. HENRY GEORGE DAY, M.A., Head Master of Sedbergh Royal Free Grammar School, &c. (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.)—*Modern Methods in Elementary Geometry.* By E. M. REYNOLDS, M.A., Mathematical Master in Clifton College, Modern Side. (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.) It is "contrast," not "likeness," which has led us to "associate" these two books. Mr. Day has given us a book of 100 pages of illustrations of the properties of the Ellipse alone, and problems to test the familiarity of the student with those properties. Mr. Reynolds, in 112 pages, gives "as much as is usually read of the six books of Euclid, with considerable additions." Mr. Day's book is an exhaustive treatise, fit for private reading, while Mr. Reynolds's is a class-book, to be supplemented by the oral teaching of the master; but that is not the only reason for the disparity in bulk of the two treatises. Mr. Day has not departed "from the strict geometry of Euclid"; Mr. Reynolds has adopted the plan "of always giving, in the simplest possible form, the direct proof from the nature of the case." Continental critics of English methods of instruction often express their surprise that Euclid should still continue our only text-book of elementary geometry. Mr. Reynolds here shows how rapid may be the progress of the student who applies arithmetical methods to geometry, and assumes "as many elementary notions as common experience places

past all doubt." Works like that of Mr. Day will always be of interest and use. The method of pure geometry and the analytical method illustrate each other, and the identity of their results is a constant charm to the student. But Mr. Reynolds is right in thinking that the restricted method of Euclid must no longer fetter the youthful student of mathematics; and that it is well to accustom him early to that free use of all modes, and of any mode which he may most conveniently to himself apply, which is essential to progress and originality in the science.

Supplemental Hymns for Public Worship. (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.) This hymn-book will be more useful for private, or family, than for public worship. It contains many beautiful hymns; it is rich both in modern hymns, and in translations from the ancient hymnals; and we are glad to have such a compilation. But, on the whole, the hymns want the rapid lyrical movement which is essential to popularity; the thought and feeling are diffused rather than concentrated. The book, too, has the modern taint of excessive subjectivity; the love of contemplating and expressing personal emotion is, indeed, the secret of the artistic defect we have just referred to. The hymns are, however, generally of a high class, although their order is not the highest. Perhaps the most signal exception is that of the 24th hymn, with its mechanical movement, incorrect rhythm, and numerous false rhymes. No editor, except the author of the hymn, would ever have admitted it to his volume. We observe, also, some misapprehensions of the force of words in the preface. What does Mr. Allon mean by the "canon of church song"? The "canon of Scripture,"—which is the "rule of faith"—and the "standard of doctrine"—is an intelligible phrase; but with the etymology of the word in his memory, we wonder how Mr. Allon could have misapplied it to "Church-song." Mr. Allon speaks of "the incontinence which has permitted the expansion of a modest purpose of thirty or forty hymns to the magnitudo of this book." The whole sentence is magniloquent and faulty: the use of the word "incontinence" is a gross inaccuracy. If good taste did not suggest its erasure, an English or a Latin dictionary would have shown this to be a misapplication of it. Rhetoric has also led Mr. Allon astray in the last sentence of his preface. "Holy hearts" and "devout feelings" do not form a correct antithesis.

Miscellaneous News.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE PERMISSIVE BILL.—The annual conference of the United Kingdom Alliance was held in Manchester on Wednesday. A letter was read from Mr. Gladstone, who appears to have been sounded on the subject of the Permissive Bill. The right hon. gentleman says that in a matter of this kind he holds it to be his duty "to watch the currents of opinion in Parliament and the country, with the view of using them for the best," but his "disposition is to let in the principle of local option wherever it is likely to be found satisfactory."

THE FINANCIAL REFORM UNION have issued an address to the electors of the United Kingdom calling attention to the importance of pressing on candidates the necessity of largely reducing the taxation. It is maintained that, although savings may be effected in our civil, diplomatic, and consular services, any hope of a material relief depends upon a large reduction in our naval and military expenditure. The electors are advised to vote for no candidate who is not prepared to make economy in the administration of the national funds a cardinal feature of his political creed.

SLAVERY IN THE SPANISH COLONIES.—The committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have forwarded an address to the Provisional Government of Madrid, in favour of the emancipation of the slave populations of Cuba and Porto Rico. They refer to the example of the French Government in 1848, whose act France has never had occasion to regret, and think that were Spain to lead the way in emancipation, Portugal and Brazil might possibly follow. The address further points out the danger of delay, shows in what numerous instances immediate emancipation has taken place without danger, and refers, on the other hand, to the difficulties which many of the colonies found in the apprenticeship system.

EXPECTED RETURN OF DR. LIVINGSTONE.—In a letter to the *Times*, Sir Roderick Murchison says:—"I am happy to make known to the public that letters which I have just received from Dr. Kirk, of Zanzibar, dated August 18th and 30th, inform me that he had received through an Arab messenger short letters from Dr. Livingstone, written at Marungu and Cazembe, places which lie to the S. and S.S.W. of Lake Tanganyika. As these brief letters were written in the months of October and December of 1867, we have now obtained intelligence which satisfactorily accounts for the delays that have occurred since he wrote to myself and others from a more southern latitude in the month of February, 1867. It appears that Livingstone had been living during three months with friendly Arabs, and waiting for the close of the native war before proceeding on his way to Ujiji, and he told the Arab messenger that after exploring Lake Tanganyika he intended to return to Zanzibar. This is the first announcement from himself that he intended to quit Africa by that route, and it confirms the suggestion I made long ago to the Royal Geographical Society, as stated in the *Times* of October 7. The letters of Dr. Kirk

are very comforting, inasmuch as they make clearly known to us that provisions, medicines, letters, and information had been sent to meet Livingstone at Ujiji, and that our great traveller was aware of their being so sent. Dr. Kirk also reminds me that when Livingstone went on his expedition (and he has not received any European news since), he was unacquainted with the discovery of Baker and the southern extension of Lake Albert Nyanza towards the Tanganyika; but as the map of Baker has also been transmitted to Ujiji, Livingstone will at once see that it was more than ever incumbent on him to try to solve the problem of the great Nilotic watershed of Africa, by determining whether these great lakes are united or separated by high lands, and if separated by ascertaining into what river system Tanganyika discharges its surplus waters. With the authentic data now before us, we may well believe that the news which came by telegram from Bombay, dated October 3, was perfectly correct; for, after Livingstone quitted the southern end of Tanganyika, he will have had about ten months to explore the whole course of that lake, and afterwards to find his way to the seacoast."

Court, Official, and Personal News.

The Queen and Court have been busy during the past week in visiting various objects of interest, such as Glen Quoich and the Lynn of Dee, in the neighbourhood of Balmoral. The Lord Chancellor is now the Minister in attendance.

The Prince and Princess of Wales are now in town. On the 2nd of November they proceed to Knowsley on a visit to the Earl and Countess of Derby.

It is rumoured that Prince Arthur will shortly receive a commission in the Royal Artillery, and join for duty.

The Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia are expected to visit St. Leonard's-on-Sea proper, or St. Leonard's West, this week.

Mr. John Bright, M.P., is to receive the freedom of the city of Edinburgh on Tuesday, Nov. 3.

The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli and Mrs. Disraeli have been visiting at Eridge Castle, Tunbridge-wells, the seat of the Earl of Abergavenny.

The Earl and Countess of Mayo have left Ireland. They will remain a few weeks in England previous to sailing for India.

The *Western Morning News* states that the Bishop of Exeter is very ill, and that he is not likely to recover.

An attempt having been made to injure Mr. Gladstone by the statement that Archbishop Manning had stood as godfather to the right hon. gentleman's eldest son, Dr. Manning writes to explain the matter. The baptism took place about twenty-eight years ago, when Dr. Manning was a clergyman of the English Church, and at a time when the leader of the Opposition and the Roman Catholic archbishop of the present day had for many years been on terms of intimate friendship. Dr. Manning pays a high tribute to the character of Mr. Gladstone.

A concert was given by command of the Queen at Balmoral, on Friday evening, by Messrs. Wilson and Montague's troupe of Christy Minstrels. The performance took place in the ball-room of the castle. Her Majesty, with the members of the Royal family—including the Prince and Princess Christian, Princess Louise, Princess Beatrice, Prince Arthur, Prince Leopold, and Prince and Princess Teck—occupied a raised dais opposite the platform, and the noble visitors and the household were provided with seats on either side of the room. Her Majesty expressed herself highly gratified with the entertainment.

Sir George Bowyer, Bart., M.P. for Dundalk, has just been made a member of the Pontifical household, having been appointed by the Pope one of his chamberlains, in recognition of his services to the Roman Catholic Church.

Cleanings.

Southampton Water is now swarming with whitening, and thousands are caught there daily.

The *Wellington Journal* states that Mr. Whitmore, the Conservative candidate for Bridgnorth, has sent his portrait to every elector of the borough.

The directors of the South-Eastern Company have instructed their officers to abandon the plan of locking any of the carriage-doors while the trains are travelling.

"A man who'd maliciously set fire to a barn," said good old Elder Poyson, "and burn up a stable full of horses and cows, ought to be kicked to death by a jackass, and I'd like to be the one to do it."

The mountains in the Lake district, and those in the immediate vicinity of Kendal, were covered on Saturday morning with a thick coating of snow, which is the first that has been seen in that locality this season.

News of a fatal result of practical joking comes from Bolton. A man was holding a youth over a canal, when the struggles of the latter threw in both. The perpetrator of the "joke" received such injuries that he died, and the youth had both thighs broken.

PORT WINE.—The Oporto vintage has been first-rate as to quality, but inferior as to quantity, this year. But 40,000 pipes have been produced, whereas in 1866 96,000 were made. We suppose a large manufacture will be necessary.

THE TOOTHACHE.—The *Lancet* says toothache can be cured by one drachm of collodion added to two drachms of Calvert's carbolic acid. A gelatinous mass is precipitated, a small portion of which, inserted in the cavity of an aching tooth, invariably gives immediate relief.

EACH TO HIS POST.—A good story is told with regard to a "daft" man and a somnolent congregation. Whenever any of his hearers began to "nod," the minister observed that "daft Jamie" aroused them somewhat sharply by shooting peas at them. Catching the eye of the delinquent at last, he shook his finger at him reprovingly, but "Jamie" responded, not a whit abashed, "Just gang on wi' your sermon, minister, and I'll keep the beggars waukin'."

LADIES' FASHIONS.—The latest fashion for ladies is a new style of walking, appropriately described as the "kink in the back." It gives them somewhat the appearance of a dromedary trying to walk the slack rope, or a bob-tail pup trying to walk a limber pole across water. When we read an extract from the fashion report, stating that the mouth would be worn slightly open this season, we looked upon it as a joke, but why not, since the back is worn slightly bent?—*American Paper*.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—During the autumn, when the atmospheric changes are alike sudden and extreme, it is a subject for grave and serious consideration how the health can be preserved. With this view any sore, ulcer, inflammation, or eruption should be cured by the use of this Ointment, which, in a few dressings, will make the surface of the body sound. An occasional alternative like these Pills will be the surest preventative of disease, because it overcomes all derangements of the system, purifies and regulates the circulation, and gives that useful energy to the nervous structures which carries the frame triumphantly through trials to which the weak and sickly would succumb, and which the robust could scarcely withstand.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTHS.

COOMBS.—October 8, at Forest-hill, the wife of the Rev. J. W. Coombs, of a daughter.

CRAIG.—October 9, at Sandown, Isle of Wight, the wife of the Rev. W. J. Craig, of a daughter.

SKEDDER.—October 11, the wife of Mr. H. H. Skedder, Faria, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

NEWMAN—FLINT.—October 7, at Shortwood, Gloucestershire, by the Rev. W. T. Price, assisted by the Rev. H. J. Gamble, of Upper Clapton, Thomas Mayow Newman, Esq., of Newmarket House, near Stroud, to Catherine Holbrow, eldest daughter of the late A. M. Flint, Esq., of Spring-hill House, Nailsworth.

KIDDLE—DUNN.—October 8, in Vicar-lane Chapel, Coventry, by the Rev. G. B. Johnson, of Edgbaston, assisted by the Rev. J. Whewell, the Rev. J. W. Kiddle, minister of Well-street Chapel, Coventry, to Elizabeth, second daughter of A. K. Dunn, Esq., of the same city.

HANDS—GARTANG.—October 8, at Greville place Congregational Church, Kilburn Priory, by the Rev. Thomas Jones, minister of Bedford Chapel, Bedford New-town, assisted by the Rev. J. C. Galloway, M.A., Doctima Hands, of Moss Villa, New Finchley-road, St. John's-wood, to Jane Gartang Gartang, of Harold House, Bromley, Kent.

CARTER—CHILD.—October 14, at the Old Gravel Pit Meeting house, Hackney, by the Rev. James Spence, D.D., assisted by the Rev. Alexander Murray, of Peterborough, brother-in-law of the bridegroom, Edwin Jones Carter, of 4 Laura-place, Clapton, eldest son of James Carter, Esq., of Upper Homerton, to Esther, second daughter of Henry Child, Esq., solicitor, of King Edward's-road, Hackney, and Doctor's Commons, London. No cards.

THOMSON—PROWSE.—October 14, at Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool, by the Rev. F. H. Roberts, Malcolm Macmillan Thomson, of Gardner-road, The Brook, to Elizabeth Ann Collier, second daughter of William Prowse, Esq., Huakison street, Liverpool.

LIBBY—JAMES.—October 14, at the New College Chapel, Avenue-road, St. John's-wood, by the Rev. R. D. Wilson, Samuel Libby, Esq., Naval Lieutenant R.N., son of Commander Libby, R.N., of St. Mawes, Cornwall, to Emma Harriett, third daughter of the late Thomas James, Esq., Newton House, Finchley New-road.

GUTTERIDGE—KIRBY.—October 15, at Loughborough, by the Rev. J. T. Gale, Richard Gutteridge, M.D., of Leicester, to Patty Green Kirby, of Park-road Villas, Loughborough.

JEFFERSON—HOLMES.—October 15, at Craven-hill Congregational Church, by the Rev. A. McMillan, the Rev. J. Jefferson, of Sheffield, to Ina, daughter of the late R. A. Holmes, Esq., Prospect County, Limerick.

BURTON—CHAPPELL.—October 15, at the Congregational church, Square-road, Halifax, by the Rev. E. Mellor, Mr. Joseph Burton, of Dudley, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Chappell, of Halifax.

JENKINS—SMITH.—October 17, at Islington chapel, by the Rev. J. C. Geikie, Alfred Thomas Jenkins, to Maria, fifth daughter of the late Isaac George Smith.

PATON—DUKES.—October 17, at Middleton-road Congregational Church, Dalston, London, by the father of the bride, assisted by the Rev. T. W. Aveling, Mr. David Paton, of Leeds, seventh son of the late Hugh Paton, Esq., of the Lower Portobello, to Marian, second daughter of the Rev. Clement Dukes, M.A.

DEATHS.

REID.—September 18, at the Baptist Mission House, Montego Bay, Jamaica, after a long and painful illness, Agnes Dundas, the beloved daughter of the Rev. James Reid, Baptist missionary.

MERRIMAN.—October 9, Mr. Alfred Merriman, eldest son of Mr. Merriman, one of the candidates for the representation of Nottingham, aged twenty-two.

EDGER.—October 10, at Uxbridge, Susannah Ann Edger, in the eighty-third year of her age, widow of the late John Edger, of Stone House, Forest-row, Sussex.

VAUGHAN.—October 11, at Lausanne, Lake of Geneva, aged nineteen, Kate Evelyn, daughter of the late Rev. Robert Alfred Vaughan, B.A. Friends will kindly accept of this intimation.

CRICHTON.—October 13, at Bradford, Yorkshire, at her daughter's (Mrs. A. Dick), Elizabeth, widow of the late Mr. John Crichton, Edinburgh, in her ninety-fourth year. Mrs. Crichton took a lively interest in all efforts for the present and future welfare of the people. Her husband was employed, long ago, in home mission work by the revered and well-known Haldanes, of Scotland.

BASNETT.—October 13, at Bunyan House, Sydenham Park, S.E., James Basnett, aged seventy-three years.

JEFFERY.—October 14, suddenly, at his residence, Mount Edgecumbe, Devonshire-road, Princes Park, Liverpool, aged fifty-two, Mr. William Reddick Jeffery, partner in the firm of J. and W. Jeffery and Co., Compton House, Liverpool.

VANDERKISTE.—October 15, at Highbury, John Vanderkiste, Esq., in his fifty-third year.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, Oct. 14.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£34,083,870	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	3,881,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	19,083,870
	£34,083,870		£34,083,870

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (inc. dead weight annuity)	£15,935,874
Reserve	3,081,950	Other Securities ..	15,622,238
Public Deposits	3,833,119	Notes	8,567,915
Other Deposits	20,231,431	Gold & Silver Coin	1,080,800
Seven Day and other Bills	701,897		
	£42,406,447		£42,406,447

Oct. 15, 1868.

GEORGE FORBES, Chief Cashier.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, Oct. 19.

The supply of English wheat to this morning's market was moderate. The trade ruled heavy, and sales proceeded slowly at the rates of this day so'nigh. Foreign was held at recent quotations, but the demand was inactive. Grinding barley 6d. to 1s. per qr. dearer. Beans and peas steady. There is a moderate arrival of foreign oats for the week. Having experienced a good inquiry for this article, prices have advanced fully 1s. per qr. for old, and 6d. per qr. for new corn since Monday last.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	— to —	FRAB—	— to —
Ditto new ..	53 55	Gray ..	44 46
White, old ..	—	Maple ..	46 48
" new ..	56 60	White ..	44 46
Foreign red ..	54 56	Boilers ..	44 46
" white ..	60 62	Foreign, white ..	45 47
		RYE ..	40 42
BARLEY—		OATS—	
English malting ..	35 37	English feed ..	28 35
Chevalier ..	43 50	" potatoe ..	31 37
Distilling ..	89 44	Scotch feed ..	—
Foreign ..	37 42	" potatoe ..	—
		Irish black ..	24 27
MALT—		" white ..	24 27
Pale ..	—	Foreign feed ..	31 30
Chevalier ..	—		
Brown ..	54 62		
BEANS—		WHEAT—	
Flax ..	45 47	Town made ..	44 50
Harrow ..	46 49	Country Marks ..	41 42
Small ..	—	Norfolk & Suffolk	35 38
Egyptian ..	41 43		

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET.

LONDON, Monday, Oct. 19.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 9,632 head. In the corresponding period in 1867 we received 11,092; in 1866, 15,267; in 1865, 24,129; and in 1864, 12,942 head. A full average supply of foreign beasts and calves was on offer here to-day, and were in tolerably fair condition. There were about 3,000 foreign sheep at the water-side. The arrivals of beasts fresh up from our own grazing districts were a full average, and in middling condition. For nearly all breeds there was a fair, though by no means active demand, the top quotation being 5s. 4d. per 8lbs. From Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire we received about 2,300 shorthorns; from other parts of England, 200 various breeds; from Scotland, 85 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland, 340 oxen, &c. With sheep we were very moderately supplied, and at least a moiety of them was beneath the middle quality. On the whole, the trade ruled heavy; but no advance took place in the quotations. The top figure for downs and half-breeds was from 5s. 2d. to 5s. 4d. per 8lbs. Calves moved off slowly, at moderate rates. The demand for pigs ruled steady, at full prices. The number on offer was only moderate.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

Inf. coarse beasts.	2 0 to 3 4	Prime Southdown	5 2 to 5 4
Second quality	3 8 to 10	Lambs ..	0 0 to 0 0
Prime large oxen.	4 0 to 5 0	Lge. coarse calves	3 6 to 4 6
Prime Scots, &c.	5 2 to 5 4	Prime small ..	4 8 to 5 4
Coarse inf. sheep	3 0 to 3 8	Large hogs ..	3 4 to 3 8
Second quality	3 10 to 4 4	Westm. porkers.	3 10 to 4 4
Pr. coarse woolled	4 6 to 5 0		

Suckling calves, 21s. to 26s.; and quarter-old store pigs, 22s. to 28s. each.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, Oct. 19.

These markets are fairly supplied with each kind of meat, for which the demand is inactive, on rather lower terms. The imports of foreign meat into London since our last have been 16 packages from Antwerp, 26 from Hamburg, 28 from Harlingen, and 4 from Rotterdam.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef ..	2	10	to	3	2	Inf. mutton ..	3	0	3
Middling ditto ..	3	4	to	3	8	Middling ditto ..	3	10	4
Prime large do. ..	3	10	to	4	4	Prime ditto ..	4	4	4
Do. small do. ..	4	4	to	4	6	Veal ..	3	6	4
Large pork ..	3	2	to	3	8	Small pork ..	3	10	4

Advertisements.

TO the ELECTORS of the CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN.—

I have already, in conjunction with my colleagues, had the honour to inform you that it is my intention to offer myself for re-election on the dissolution of the present Parliament. I now most respectfully solicit the renewal of your support.

The assistance I have given to the promotion of measures passed by Parliament having been invariably in accordance with the opinions which I have so often had the honour of expressing to you, I am justified in entertaining the hope that I still retain your confidence.

I also trust that I have earned some claim to the suffrage of those who will be called upon, for the first time, to exercise a privilege for which I have, upon all occasions, most cheerfully recorded my vote.

On the great questions which have chiefly occupied the Legislature during the last two sessions, I have uniformly acted with the Liberal party, in all the amendments introduced by them into the statute for the Representation of the People; and if I am returned to the new Parliament, I shall not fail in my exertions to obtain abolition of the rate-paying and minority clauses, considering them to be equally useless and obnoxious.

The measure for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, having been passed by large majorities of the House of Commons, will, no doubt, be re-introduced in the new Parliament, and will, as hitherto, receive my earnest advocacy.

The great increase of the national expenditure will also require the serious consideration of the Legislature, and it is to be hoped that a considerable diminution may be effected without injury to the efficiency of the public service.

When I last solicited your suffrages, I expressed the hope that the improving state of my health would enable me satisfactorily to discharge my duties as your representative; and it affords me gratification to be enabled to refer to the list of the votes and proceedings of the last session of the House of Commons, where my name will be found recorded in every important division.

Should it be your pleasure to renew the honourable trust which you have so long and so often confided to me, I entertain the expectation that I shall be able to give earnest and unremitting attention to your local interests and the public business of the country.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

LIONEL N. DE ROTHSCHILD.

New Court, 1st October, 1868.

TO the ELECTORS of the CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,—

Conjointly with my three colleagues, I have already stated to you, in a published address, the grounds upon which it is held to be the duty of the Liberal party not to surrender, at the coming election, that influence in the councils of the country which the preponderance of Liberal opinions in the City of London is entitled to exercise.

In placing my services again at your disposal, I might rest my personal claim to a continuance of your confidence upon the part I have taken in the discussions and settlement of the various questions, political and commercial, social and municipal, which have engaged the attention of Parliament during the last twelve years, and the opportunities I have had of promoting generally the interests and wishes of my constituents.

But principles of political conduct, deeply affecting the contentment and welfare of a great mass of our fellow-countrymen, are in issue, and I freely accept the challenge contained in the addresses of our opponents.

Throughout the recent discussions upon the question of the Irish Church, I voted consistently with the Liberal party, because I regarded the disestablishment of that Church as a measure of justice to the Irish people, and as a measure of regeneration in the interest of the Church itself.

The same considerations will govern my conduct in the future.

You are told that the disestablishment of the Irish Church is the certain prelude to an attack upon the property and privileges of corporations throughout the United Kingdom, and notably of the Corporation and Companies of the City of London.

This suggestion is not complimentary to your intelligence. It is not a mere delusion on the part of those by whom it is propagated. It is an assumption, nearly akin to those misrepresentations, so common in times of political excitement like the present, which form the stock-in-trade of political partisanship. The property and privileges of the City of London and its companies are quite safe whichever party may hold the reins of power.

You are reminded that "the legislation of the last quarter of a century has swept away nearly all the political grievances which were formerly the subject of complaint." To which party in the State, I may ask, is the credit of these reforms due? Is it to the Liberal party, with whom they invariably originated, and by whom they were in most instances carried? Or is it to the party of resistance, whose only claim to any merit in the matter is, that, having opposed these reforms in the first instance through traditional instinct, they served their country in the end by adopting them as expedients to serve themselves?

My political conduct in the past is the index to my opinions in the present, and will be the guide to my conduct in the future; and with respect to matters connected with your local affairs, I believe you will regard the manner in which my services have hitherto been rendered as the best assurance I can give you that my utmost ambition is to deserve your confidence.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

ROBERT WIGRAM CRAWFORD.

71, Old Broad-street, 1st October, 1868.

TO the ELECTORS of the CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,—

Thirty-three years ago a general election took place, in which the Irish Church grievance was the chief issue involved. On that occasion, it is recorded, "the Conservatives were unsuccessful in the first election, that of the City of London. The only one of the four City Members in the preceding Parliament who had been returned by the Conservatives lost his seat." Once more the citizens of London are asked for their verdict on the Irish Church. Their answer, I trust, will be the same—the return of four Liberal candidates.

The Prime Minister has not scrupled to turn his sceptre of office into an incendiary torch. The cry has been raised of "Protestantism in danger," and religion invoked against the cause of justice. But the conscience of the country has not been led astray, and its common sense refuses to believe that Protestantism, Religion, or the Constitution, can possibly suffer from a simple act of justice and national reparation. The adhesion given to the policy of Mr. Gladstone by the great body of Dissenters, those staunch upholders of Protestantism, is a sufficient comment on the hollowness of the cry.

The Church of England has been recklessly dragged into the fray. Her interests are ill-served by those who, to secure the weight of her influence in the present Election for their own side, attempt to create a permanent breach between the Church and the Liberal party. If the Church were indeed in danger, her perils would lie at the door of those blind partisans who do not shrink from staking her future on the political fortunes of a declining minority.

I lament that a controversy about the English Church should have been imported into an Irish and Imperial question. Disaffection in Ireland means more troops, higher estimates, trouble at home, weakness abroad. Justice to Ireland means economy and increased national strength. But the Irish difficulty, long ago declared by Lord Stanley to be the question of the hour, is shirked by Conservative Candidates. Their Irish policy is the defence of the English Church. The Irish policy of the Liberals may be summed up in one word—"Conciliation"; and Conciliation under the shadow of "an alien Church" is impossible.

The reduction of our national expenditure will claim the immediate attention of the new Parliament. Economies by improved management will not be the sole resource of reformers. Changes in our foreign policy and scientific revolutions in our armaments have not been followed up by corresponding changes in the distribution of our ships and troops. Steam and telegraphs have increased the ubiquity of our fleets; a more anxious regard for the sovereign rights of semi-civilised States has partly lightened, and partly altered, their duties. Yet costly squadrons of obsolete ships are still maintained at unnecessary stations. It would be hard to exaggerate the reduction in our estimates which might follow from a thorough revision of the distribution of our forces. Under

the present system, both money and power are frittered away without adequate return. The utmost determination of a Government enthusiastically devoted to the union of thrift and efficiency, backed by unanimous majorities and supported by the full conviction of the country, will alone overcome the traditional obstruction of naval and military prejudices.

I rejoice that the subject of National Education has at last taken rank among the foremost political questions of the day. The legal recognition of the national character of our Universities will, I trust, be among the first-fruits of a Reformed Parliament. In the education of the poor, voluntary efforts and existing organisations have left formidable gaps. Whether vast pauper districts should have schools or not at present rests with overworked ministers of religion and a few opulent residents. This uncertainty is a crying evil. Sound policy demands that, where private efforts have failed to penetrate, some public authority should be compelled forthwith to occupy the vacant ground.

The oppressive burden of local taxes, unequal in their incidence and constantly augmenting, not only blocks the way of many urgent improvements, but stands itself in need of a thorough revision. Exorbitant rates grievously enhance the cost of dwellings for the poor. Meanwhile, local budgets are at a dead-lock, and still await that reforming hand which has dealt so successfully with Imperial finance.

The difficulty of solving the Rating question has been unnecessarily and cruelly heightened. Parliamentary Reform under Conservative leadership has brought higher rates or dearer rents in its wake. The enfranchisement of five hundred thousand Compound Householders was only extorted by the sacrifices of arrangements convenient to the occupier, the landlord, and the parish. The Ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act cannot possibly stand.

The position of those great enterprises which require, if not monopoly, yet "privileged opportunities," has excited much public attention. Railway, Telegraph, and Gas Companies have shown an equal tendency to pass from competition to amalgamation, from amalgamation to monopoly. The public, it is alleged, has, in many cases, not received its equivalent in convenience for the grant of exceptional privileges. Much work awaits the new Parliament in this respect. Confronted with the representatives of vast special interests, the representatives of the nation will find their courage, zeal, and discretion heavily taxed; but the firmest advocacy of the public advantage is quite compatible with the most scrupulous regard for private rights.

To bankruptcy reform, to improvements in the laws relating to limited liability, to the numerous questions specially affecting a commercial constituency, I have applied myself with the most anxious diligence, both in and out of the House of Commons. My sense of the responsibilities imposed on the representatives of such vast interests as yours has grown with my efforts faithfully to discharge them. To be permitted to continue these efforts, and to bear my part in the great questions which the Liberal party, re-invigorated by a more popular franchise, will fight out in the new Parliament, is my highest ambition.

I have the honour to offer myself once more as a candidate for your suffrages, and, if re-elected, will spare no pains to justify your choice.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

66, Mount-street, October 1st, 1868.

TO the ELECTORS of the CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,—

A Dissolution of the present Parliament will, in all probability, take place early in November, and you will be called upon to elect four Members, although each Elector will have the right to vote only for three Candidates.

If the Liberal Electors, who are a large majority of the Constituency, are determined that the City of London shall retain its present power of recording four votes in the House of Commons in favour of Liberal measures, cordial co-operation and united action will be indispensable.

At the General Election in 1865, relying on your knowledge of my past public career, you recorded 6,637 votes in my favour, and returned me as one of your representatives by a majority of 2,440 votes over Messrs. Lyall and Fowler.

In again offering myself as a Candidate for your suffrages, and soliciting a continuance of the trust you have confided to me, I may be permitted to appeal to the course pursued and the votes given by me in Parliament during the Sessions of 1866, 1867, and 1868, which were principally occupied by the passing of the "Representation of the People Bill," moulded by the exertions of the Liberal party into a very different measure from that originally introduced by Mr. Disraeli, the FancY Franchise being struck out, the Dual Vote and the Two Years' Residence for the new voters sharing the same fate, and ten small boroughs being extinguished, although the principle of the Bill had been stated to consist in not totally disfranchising any City or Borough. But in order to render the measure satisfactory, a further Redistribution of Seats is necessary, and an amendment of the Rating clauses required; also a repeal of the clause which deprives the Electors of the City of London of the right they had enjoyed for centuries of voting for four Candidates.

The new Parliament will have to take into its immediate consideration many questions of urgent and grave importance,—amongst others, the Bankruptcy Law, which is in a most unsatisfactory condition, and requires amendment, in order to protect more effectually the interests of creditors and provide a more economic and speedy realisation of bankrupts' estates. Limited Joint Stock Companies have inflicted so much misery upon so many households, that a prompt revision and amendment of the laws relating thereto are absolutely necessary.

The Education of the people is a question which can no longer be delayed, and should be dealt with in a large and liberal spirit, attention being especially directed to the means of educating the poorest class, now growing up totally without instruction.

The Equalisation of the Poor-rates throughout the metropolitan area is urgently required in order to remedy the injustice of the present system.

The Imperial and local taxation on the dwellings of the working classes ought to be revised and reduced. Parliament has entirely freed the food and clothing of the people from taxation, "but it has year by year increased the taxation upon their dwellings."

There will be, I trust, a pressure made from all quarters upon the Government of the day for a large reduction in the public expenditure, and for greater economy in the various departments of the State.

In order to develop throughout the interior of the country the principles of free trade, all artificial barriers that impede the free circulation of the people ought to be removed, and the wasteful and expensive system of turnpikes on roads and tolls on bridges be abolished. The taxes on locomotion should be abolished, as they are most oppressive, unequal, and injurious in their operation, and press most heavily upon the poorer and mountainous districts of the country where railway accommodation is scanty, depriving many places of all public conveyance. They likewise prevent the metropolis being supplied with superior public carriages.

The Irish Church is a question on which the Constituency will have to decide whether they will elect Representatives who will support the Irish policy of the Government of Mr. Disraeli, which, as expounded by Lord Mayo, proposes to establish and endow an exclusively Roman Catholic University, to level up the Roman Catholic Church, and to take care that the Regium Donum to the Presbyterians shall no longer remain a "miserable pittance," which, in other words, means that the Consolidated Fund is to be charged with the expense of founding and endowing a Roman Catholic

University, of improving the condition of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and also of augmenting the Regium Donum; or whether they will elect Representatives who will support the Irish policy of Mr. Gladstone, which is simple, clear, and straightforward, and cannot be misquoted or misunderstood, and which consists in disestablishing the Irish Church, dealing with all vested interests in a generous and liberal spirit, and relieving the Consolidated Fund from the present annual charges for Maynooth and the Regium Donum.

It is of the highest importance that the City of London, at the forthcoming Election, should proclaim to the country that it adheres firmly to the great principles of Civil and Religious Liberty, for the advocacy of which it has so long been distinguished.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your very faithful servant,

WILLIAM LAWRENCE.

94, Westbourne-terrace, Hyde Park, W.
October 1, 1868.

CITY of LONDON ELECTION.—The CENTRAL LIBERAL ELECTORS' COMMITTEE beg to return their sincere acknowledgments for the assurances of confidence and support they have already received from the electors, who, under the circumstances forced on them by the minority clause, have been requested to supply the necessary information as to the distribution of their votes by filling up the forms transmitted to them.

Electors are requested to repair to the Committee Rooms of their respective wards and districts, where every information and assistance will be supplied.

By order.

BENJAMIN S. PHILLIPS, Chairman.

SAMUEL MORLEY } Vice

FREDERICK PATTISON } Chairmen.

Central Committee Room,
110, Cheapside, 17th October, 1868.

TO the ELECTORS of SOUTHAMPTON.

GENTLEMEN,—

The Parliament of 1865, to which you did me the honour of returning me as one of your members, having completed a great scheme of Parliamentary reform, has concluded its labours, and referred to the constituencies the duty of electing their future representatives.

The deliberations of Parliament upon the questions of Reform have extended over three eventful sessions. In the first Earl Russell's Government introduced a measure which was defeated by the combination of the Tories with timid members of the Liberal party. Thus thwarted in its endeavours to advance a noble cause, the Government of Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone resigned, and the party who had used every possible artifice in resisting Reform were obliged to espouse that cause in order to retain office.

It was not to be expected that the hereditary opponents of liberty should conceive a satisfactory measure of extended enfranchisement. Their first proposals were vague, insidious, and illusory, but the Liberal Opposition, under the able leadership of Mr. Gladstone, succeeded in moulding the Ministerial scheme into a wide and more Liberal measure than they would themselves have been permitted to pass. The Reform Bills of Mr. Disraeli are really the work of Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party, to whom you owe the full and unfettered privileges which you are about to exercise.

If the Tories can claim little credit for this measure of Parliamentary reform, still less are they entitled to your confidence for other measures of their administration. At a time when the resources of the country have been impaired by adversity, the Government have increased every branch of expenditure.

The gallantry of Lord Napier of Magdala and the forces in Abyssinia, have added fresh lustre to the British flag, but the civil administration of the army and navy has been costly and inefficient.

For the cause of education nothing has been done.

Law reforms have scarcely been attempted. A cumbersome and unsatisfactory bill for the amendment of the law of bankruptcy was introduced in the House of Lords; but it has fallen to so humble a member as myself to pass the only instalment of Bankruptcy reform in the present Parliament, and which I trust may prove a benefit to the mercantile and trading classes.

One of the most important Acts of last session was that for removing contentions between the Church of England and other religious communities by the abolition of compulsory payment of Church-rates; and this salutary measure we owe to the statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone.

But incomparably the most difficult question which has occupied the attention of Parliament is the condition of Ireland. You know how feebly this question was approached by Ministers, how they attempted to win the Catholics by the endowment of a special university, and the Presbyterians by an increase of the Parliamentary grant known as the "Regium Donum"; but we owe to the intelligence and courage of our great leader, Mr. Gladstone, and to the earnest support of the Liberal party, a bolder and more comprehensive scheme. It is sought to heal the discords and jealousies of Ireland by complete religious equality, which can only be there attained by the disestablishment of the Church of the minority. This is the chief subject upon which your suffrages are shortly to be taken, and I rely with confidence upon your verdict.

I cannot quit this review of last session without adverting to the Metropolitan Cattle Market Bill, which, having for its objects severe restraints upon the importation of foreign cattle, and largely favouring the principle of agricultural protection, was eagerly promoted by the Tory Ministers and their supporters. I had the honour of serving upon the committee to which that bill was referred, and I rejoice in having contributed to its defeat. I believe that it was opposed to the best interests of this country, and specially injurious to the port of Southampton; consequently, from first to last, I resisted that bill to the uttermost of my power.

Electors of Southampton! while respectfully seeking a renewal of the high trust and honour of being one of your representatives in Parliament, permit me to assure you that my best energies will constantly be devoted to those important mercantile and marine questions which form so large a part of our Imperial policy, and with which the interests of Southampton are so closely identified.

I have the honour to be,

Your faithful servant,

GEO. MOFFATT.

London, August 4, 1868.

TO the FREEMEN and ELECTORS of the CITY OF YORK.

GENTLEMEN,—

Having been adopted by the Liberal Electors, at a meeting held in the Festival Concert-room on Monday last, as the colleague of Mr. J. P. Brown-Westhead, in seeking your suffrages at the ensuing election, I cordially accept the honourable position of a candidate for the representation of this ancient city.

I come before you as one who has always held Liberal opinions, and who is now ready to approve and support the general policy of Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, and his management of the national finances.

As to the great question which now divides political parties, I have for many years been convinced that the dominancy of a Protestant Church in Ireland was a fruitful source of irritation to the large majority of the inhabitants of that country. Thus I hail with satisfaction the proposal to disestablish that

Church, and to disendow it of that which is strictly national property, while at the same time carefully respecting every existing right. I believe that if it be done in a statesmanlike manner, it will reform, and not destroy, the Irish Church, and will fortify rather than weaken the position of the Church of England. I shall cordially, therefore, give my support to Mr. Gladstone on this question.

Your constituency has been greatly augmented by the Reform Bill of last session. In this I rejoice; but the measure, enacted by the Liberal party from an unwilling Government, and frequently modified in its passage through the House, demands yet further revision. The ratepaying clauses must certainly be altered, and the redistribution of seats must be extended, in order to give a fair representation to the entire community.

As the desirability of voting by Ballot is constantly recognised in our clubs and learned societies, I can see no reason why the same practice should not be adopted in Parliamentary elections; and as it is likely to put an end to intimidation, I shall be prepared to vote for the Ballot, whether it be brought forward as a Government measure or otherwise.

Questions of Education are likely to come prominently before the new Parliament. I approve of the throwing open the privileges of Oxford and Cambridge to men whose consciences will not permit them to accept the present tests, and thus rendering these Universities truly national institutions. I concur in the reform of our public schools, and believe in the necessity of some national system of primary instruction, and of a large extension of scientific and technical education in order to maintain our position in intellectual progress in the race with some of our continental neighbours.

Questions affecting the relations of Labour and Capital have already claimed my attention, and I should be prepared to support measures tending to conciliation and mutual goodwill, with proper legal protection both for masters and workmen.

I hope soon to have opportunities of explaining to you my views more fully. I need not say that it will at all times be my earnest desire to maintain and support the rights and interests of your ancient city, and its position as capital of the largest and most important county in the kingdom; and should you retain me as one of your representatives, I shall earnestly endeavour to prove myself in all respects worthy of your confidence.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN HALL GLADSTONE.

17, Pembroke-square, London, Sept. 8, 1868.

TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of AYLESBURY.

GENTLEMEN,—

I have the honour to inform you that it is my intention to solicit, a second time, the distinction you conferred on me at the last general election.

I have endeavoured to carry out, to the best of my powers, the Liberal principles which I then advocated, and which I deem essential to the welfare of the country. Should you do me the honour of again returning me to Parliament, I shall always strive energetically in the same direction.

The question of Parliamentary Reform being at length settled on a broad and comprehensive basis, I trust that those who now, through the exertions of the party to which I belong, enjoy the franchise for the first time, will repose in me the same confidence as their fellow-townsmen have hitherto done.

Parliament has, during the last session, been occupied with measures regarding the welfare of Ireland. The same question will most probably be the first to claim the serious attention of the new representatives of the people, and I shall then support any proposal which, generous in spirit and broad in conception, will tend to unite us by firm bonds with the inhabitants of our sister isle.

It will be the duty of your representatives most carefully to attend to anything connected with the agricultural interest, such as the establishment of county financial boards; whenever such schemes are brought forward, they shall receive my best consideration.

I hope that the Government, by exercising a wise and more vigilant economy in our national expenditure than has been practised of late, will enable a remission of some of the taxes, which at present press heavily on the community at large.

My political views are so well known that I do not think it necessary now to refer to them again, but I shall take an early opportunity of stating them publicly to you; and assuring you that it will be my ambition to attend with earnest zeal to your local interests, as well as to the affairs of the nation, I hope to be honoured by a renewal of your trust, and to be again elected as your representative.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

N. M. DE ROTHSCHILD.

No. 6, Buckingham-gate, London.

TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of LYMINGTON.

GENTLEMEN,—

The time is come when a candidate for a seat in Parliament may truly feel that, if elected, he will enter the House of Commons as a chosen representative of the people. Under these circumstances, I have the greater satisfaction in responding to the unanimous request of a public meeting of the Electors that I would offer myself for your free suffrages. You are entitled to expect a frank and an unreserved statement of my principles, and of the rules which will guide me if honoured by your choice. At this important moment in the political history of our great country it behoves the reformed constituencies to look well to the characters, as well as to the professions, of those candidates who solicit their votes.

During a now long series of years those private pursuits which have afforded me leisure to devote myself to public service have also been of a nature to make me tolerably conversant with public interests. Sprung from the people, I avow myself a friend of the people. But, in that phrase, I include all ranks and classes, contending that the welfare of each is bound up with the happiness of all.

I shall, therefore, continue in Parliament the course which I have followed in a less conspicuous station. I am for the extinction of unfair and invidious privileges, by the establishment of equal rights. Into all questions and affairs, foreign or domestic, civil or ecclesiastical, national or provincial, I would carry the same ruling principle. The golden rule of Him who declared that His kingdom was not of this world is, nevertheless, a rule of universal application. Every difficulty will be solved, and every wrong set right, when men and nations act upon the maxim of doing to others as they would have others do to them.

Descending to particulars, I only wish that you had the opportunity of voting by ballot, in order that your votes might be given free from all constraint. If, however, you do me the honour of electing me, this will be one of the objects yet unattained for which I shall earnestly strive.

I am prepared to establish in Ireland, both as a political necessity and as a precedent for future practice in parallel circumstances, the rule of liberating all forms of religion from State patronage and State control. As the principle of mere toleration developed in due time into that of civil equality—notwithstanding difference of theological creed—so the day is now come, or is very near, when the idea of civil and religious liberty must fully realise itself in a complete and universal religious equality. Hence I shall, whether in Parliament or out of it, earnestly labour to promote the success of Mr. Gladstone's proposal to disestablish and disendow the Irish Church, as an act of justice to Ireland.

Two other great questions appear to me to press with no less urgency for a fair, broad, and definitive settlement. I mean education for the people, and the reciprocal interests of capital and labour.

Much of my time and of my means having been spent in the promotion of education among the industrial orders, I shall bring both zeal and experience to the subject if, by your choice, I am sent to Parliament. I am ready to join in promoting the education of all; but if that object is to be secured by legislative means and at the general charge, it must be done on the principle of the common schools of the United States, where all contribute to the maintenance of institutions open to, and in fact used by, all.

My views on the vexed question between Capital and Labour are sufficiently clear and decisive to compel me to uphold the claims of the employed to as much consideration as those who employ them. The one has as much right to unite as the other has to combine; the interests of both parties are mutual, reciprocal—nay, identical. Should the Legislature interfere it might do so by the institution of Courts of Arbitration impartially constructed.

While on most questions, both foreign and domestic, I hope to be able to follow such men as Gladstone and Bright—the true leaders of the Liberal party—there is one question which, in my mind, assumes an importance and urgency surpassing any other—namely, the immense cost of the public service and the intolerable burden pressing upon the people. When I consider the enormous aggregate of our local rating and of our national taxation, I wonder that my countrymen do not awake to the vast importance of urging economy and retrenchment upon their rulers. Should Mr. Gladstone become First Lord of the Treasury I feel persuaded that he will devote his prompt and resolute attention to the mitigation of this great and crying evil.

In conclusion, gentlemen, should you determine that your Borough, which in the present Parliament has sent two representatives, one to neutralise the other, should in the coming Parliament no longer send a man to support an extravagant Conservative Government, I offer you my services. Having no personal ends to gain, beyond a patriotic ambition to serve my country, I shall, if elected, give special attention to the local claims of your Borough, and do my best to promote

Freedom in Trade.

Liberty in Religion.

Economy and Retrenchment.

Vote by Ballot.

Repeal of the vexatious Ratepaying Clauses.

National Unsectarian Education.

Disendowment of all Religious Bodies in Ireland.

Opening the Universities to the People.

Harmony between Capital and Labour.

Legal and Administrative Reforms.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL PRATT.

Tentercroft, Cuckfield, Sussex, and London,

Oct. 17, 1868.

EARTHQUAKE at PERU and ECUADOR. SUFFERERS' RELIEF FUND.

COMMITTEE.

THOMAS BARING, Esq., M.P., Chairman.

T. M. Weguelin, Esq., M.P., Treasurer.

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The Peruvian and Ecuador

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D. Meinertzhagen, Esq.

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Subscriptions will be also received by the Gentlemen of the Committee.

London, 15th October, 1868.

THE ASYLUM FOR IDIOTS, Earlswood, Redhill, Surrey.—The AUTUMNAL ELECTION of this Charity will occur on Thursday, the 29th inst., at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, for the purpose of choosing 35 applicants, viz., five for life, and 30 for the ordinary period of five years, from a list of 280 approved candidates, without prejudice to scrutiny. The poll will commence at Twelve, and close at Two o'clock precisely.

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Office, 29, Poultry, E.C., October, 1868.

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Office, 29, Poultry, E.C., October, 1868.

SURREY MISSION.—This Mission will hold its Seventy-first Autumnal Meeting on Tuesday, Oct. 27th, at Westow Hill Chapel, Upper Norwood. General committee at twelve. A devotional meeting will be held at half-past three, when evangelists and others will report on the society's work in the Surrey villages. The treasurer, J. Tritton, Esq., to preside. Sermon in the evening at seven by the Rev. W. Brook, of Bloomsbury Chapel.

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